

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

1949

VOLUME XXXVIII, NO. 3

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PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the REVIEW by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate \$5.25; foreign \$5.50; single copies 50 cents.

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PUBLICATION OFFICE: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.

EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 299 Broadway, New York, 7, N. Y.

Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Mass.

National Municipal Review

Volume XXXVIII, No. 3

Total Number 386

Published monthly except August

By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service*, the *Index to Legal Periodicals*, the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service*.

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Home Rule for Whom?

A FEW months ago the voters of Peoria rejected a proposal to adopt the commission form of government. A number of civic organizations, dissatisfied with their weak mayor form, campaigned vigorously for the change. Other equally civic-minded citizens fought it in a bitter, close contest. Holding no brief for the present system, they simply objected to jumping from the old frying pan into the fire of the thoroughly discredited commission plan.

Why this futile performance? The evidence of the campaign is that the people of Peoria are far from stupid. They are in a cage and the jailer is the Illinois legislature which for years has proved quite unsympathetic to fundamental needs of citizens of the larger cities. Peoria has no way of obtaining either of the two forms of government recognized as best for American cities—the council-manager plan or the strong mayor plan.

The American Municipal Association, the national parent organization of state leagues of municipalities, has defined home rule as the right of the people “to handle their own affairs,” including their right “to choose their own form of government, not merely to operate a government given them by the state.”

This right is violated most grievously when, as in Illinois, the only forms of government made available to most cities are forms which no competent authority would endorse. Unfortunately, Illinois is not the only state which forbids essential local self-government.

The real solution is, of course, full constitutional home rule; that is, a constitutional grant of power to the people of any municipality to frame their own charter and so to determine their own form of government and, within reasonable limits, the scope of its powers and activities.

So far, only a minority of the state constitutions provide this kind of home rule and some of those do not extend it to all municipalities. There is, however, a legislative route to substantial home rule. One of the best blueprints for this has been offered by the New Jersey Commission on Municipal Government, whose recommendations are now before the state legislature.

New Jersey municipalities are almost as badly off as Peoria. There is no strong mayor option generally available and the New Jersey city manager act has been impaired by an unsound provision for tenure for managers and other blemishes. Most New Jersey municipalities have some variation of commission or weak mayor forms.

The Commission on Municipal Government, headed by Bayard Faulkner, former town commissioner of Montclair, would extend to New Jersey municipalities the right to choose between the council-manager plan and variant forms of the strong mayor plan. The commission takes what it describes as “an adverse view” of the notorious commission form of government and recommends that it be no longer available for new adoptions.

The Faulkner commission would

also go as far as possible without constitutional amendment to meet another requirement of home rule defined by the American Municipal Association as the right of the people "to decide for themselves what services they require, without asking state permission for each new undertaking."

The Faulkner plan is to reward municipalities for modernizing their structure by relieving them of many mandatory requirements and giving them broad powers of local self-government rather than a strict list of powers. Under the new state constitution it would be the duty of the courts to construe these broad powers liberally and resolve all doubts in favor of the municipality.

Recognizing that citizen interest and participation are the basis of good government, the Faulkner report would encourage citizen study of existing governments and the possibility of improving them. In any municipality that has not, prior to 1955, adopted a new form or voted on the question of having a charter commission to advise on needed improvements, the question of electing a charter commission would be put on the ballot automatically.

The Faulkner report has been joyfully welcomed by an impressive cross-section of civic organizations,

including the State Chamber of Commerce, the New Jersey Taxpayers Association, the Federation of Women's Clubs, the League of Women Voters and the CIO. Only opposition reported is from some municipal officials who feel hurt at the castigation of the commission form or who dislike provisions which encourage citizen inquiry, especially the provision for a vote not later than 1955.

Apparently, not all members of the New Jersey State League of Municipalities are in accord with the home rule plank of their national body, the American Municipal Association, which stresses the right of the *people* of a city to choose their own form of government.

Such official opposition explains one weakness which has always bedeviled the plea of cities for greater home rule. Too often, the plea is simply for more leeway for municipal officials, not greater opportunity for citizens to look into what is going on in city hall and to change the picture if they don't like what they see.

The battle now on in New Jersey is worth watching — by Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania and all other states where the citizens of cities and towns are still denied elementary rights of self-government.

Committee on Accounting Named

President Charles Edison has appointed the following National Municipal League Committee on Governmental Accounting to serve the recently re-activated National Committee on Municipal Accounting in an advisory capacity: A. E. Buck, Institute of Public Administration, chairman; Frederick L. Bird, director of municipal research, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc.; John S. Linen, vice president, Chase National Bank; Joseph D. McGoldrick, attorney; Russell McInnes attorney; and Sanders Shanks, Jr., editor, *The Bond Buyer*. Mr. Buck will serve as a member of the National Committee, which will consist of the chairmen of the committees of several national organizations.

Drama Gets Out the Vote

Richmond's 'Gold Feather Day' overcomes citizen apathy and brings ten times usual number of voters to the polls.

By CHARLES HENRY HAMILTON*

ED P. PHILLIPS, a sandy-haired, 200-pound Richmond businessman, does not look particularly dramatic. Yet, in fighting his way up to a position of prominence in Virginia's capital city, he has learned that success involves a certain amount of drama.

One of the fundamentals, he holds, is the art of being dramatic at the right time and in the right way. Because of his beliefs, the city of Richmond is the scene of something new in politics—something new in civic government. Equally important, it is an idea that can be carried out successfully anywhere.

It is the "Gold Feather" method of getting out a record-breaking vote. Richmond has used the plan twice—with the necessary drama—and each time has set a new mark at the polls.

Because an apathetic electorate nearly always means a diseased government, Phillips believes his plan will be of interest to many cities.

Few cities anywhere matched Richmond, a few years ago, in lack of interest at the polls. It had a cumbersome 32-man bicameral city council. Although there was no hint of corruption in city hall politics, it

was generally believed that the "city hall vote" was enough to swing any local issue. For example, in one city election for mayor, in 1944, there were only 2,944 votes cast—and the number of employees on the city's payroll at that time was 2,987.

There were, of course, vague rumblings of discontent from time to time in this city of 238,000. The Richmond First Club, a civic group, was particularly active in studies of city government. As interest slowly mounted, Dr. Douglas S. Freeman, editor of *The News Leader*, put forward a suggestion that a citizens' association be formed. This spark kindled the fire that finally swept out the old form of government and brought in a new charter with a city manager and a nine-man council.

One of the leaders throughout the fight was dynamic Ed Phillips. His attention particularly was caught by statistics compiled on Richmonders' voting habits. He learned that in six elections prior to May 1945 only 3 per cent of residents of voting age had cast ballots. City employees voted in strength—an average of 78 per cent of them in the six elections. Firemen topped the employees; 98 per cent of them voted. Other groups took far less interest: only about half the city's doctors, bankers and school teachers cast ballots, 18.5 per cent of the ministers, and only two-fifths of one per cent of the nurses.

*Mr. Hamilton has been with the Richmond *News Leader* since his graduation from college in 1926, ten years as a sports writer and sports editor and the last thirteen as city editor. He has written both fiction and articles for a number of publications, including the *Saturday Evening Post* and *Reader's Digest*.

In other words, the record showed that Richmonders had been alarmingly indifferent to municipal affairs. Yet it also was a matter of record that, once aroused as in the early stages of the charter fight, they would take an interest in their civic future.

"I was thinking about all this in the spring of last year before our councilmanic election," says Phillips. "It was most important to get out a big vote and elect a good council. I wondered why we couldn't pull together all the time at the polls. Why, we could get together and raise a million dollars for the Community Chest; in that movement, we had a way every year of reaching into every group and class. What was the difference? Why was one a failure and the other a dramatic success? One cost nothing but effort—and failed; the other cost money—and succeeded."

Gold Feather Emblem

It didn't add up for this student of business. The Community Chest movement quite evidently had something in large quantities that a get-out-the-vote endeavor sadly lacked. And then Phillips pounced on the answer.

"It was drama that the chest had and that we lacked," he says. "I saw the principle: you have to supply color, excitement, something to use as a symbol. You need a rallying point. For the Community Chest the symbol was a red feather. Why, all over America, the red feather is a symbol of sharing, of shouldering your part of the community's load."

And what did he do about it? It

didn't take him long to come up with a plan.

"I decided that a gold feather should be used as an emblem. It would be handed out to every voter as he left the polls. It would be worn as a sign that he had done his civic duty; that he was taking an interest and a part in his government. And it also would serve still another purpose—folks who hadn't voted would be reminded to do their duty."

He paused and thought a moment.

"That was what was in the back of my head—make the gold feather mean to voting what the red feather means to the Community Chest. Something you wear with pride! Something you share with the other fellow! In short, that was the drama we needed, I thought. That was the rallying point."

That also was just the beginning of his troubles, as he soon found. For one thing, it was decided early that the Richmond Citizens Association should not sponsor the movement because it had a slate of candidates in the 1948 councilmanic election. Phillips knew that a get-out-the-vote movement had to be impartial to succeed. The idea for everyone was "Vote! No matter how you vote, be sure you vote!"

"We knew we simply had to get the folks to the polls," says Phillips. "We finally had battered our way through to a new form of government—and yet, we might lose everything we had gained if we didn't elect alert, progressive councilmen. That's why the Richmond Citizens Association had decided, somewhat belatedly and reluctantly, that it had to sponsor a slate of nine men. We didn't want

the 'city hall vote,' at the last minute, to wreck all that we had done."

Because Gold Feather Day had to be a city-wide project rather than a Richmond Citizens Association undertaking, Phillips saw that as an association officer he would have to step from the spotlight. So he went to Mayor Horace H. Edwards of the expiring city government and asked his help. Edwards, thoroughly sympathetic to the new movement, promptly officially proclaimed the forthcoming municipal election as Richmond Day—Gold Feather Day.

Finding a Leader

The mayor also named Henry S. Holland, III, an aggressive, vigorous young businessman, as Gold Feather chairman. Then came a period of intensive work.

Under the leadership of Holland, the movement was "sold" to Democrats, to Republicans, to labor and to management.

"You see," says Phillips, with a twinkle in his eye, "it simply wouldn't do for any political party to frown on a big vote; you can get politicians' help because they can't afford to turn you down."

The Inter-Club Council, made up of representatives from Rotary, Kiwanis and all the other civic clubs, was an invaluable aid at this juncture. It provided a quick way of carrying messages to that important field. Because Gold Feather Day was nonpartisan, it also could be introduced into the schools.

"If you want to start something like this, don't overlook the kids," warns Phillips. "They become in-

tensely interested. We found those high school boys and girls more than just a help. Why, the way they chipped in and helped was a real inspiration to everybody else."

"Yes, and don't forget the women," adds Holland, while Phillips nods agreement. "We went to all the women's clubs and let me tell you we were amazed. Sometimes we found some men's group lagging; that was never true of the women. Our motto became: 'If you want the job done, give it to the women.' I'd say that they easily did 60 per cent of all our work."

"Don't overlook the churches, either," says Phillips. "We found that ministers were glad to mention Gold Feather Day from the pulpit. We contacted them all, and they called attention of their congregations to this civic undertaking. They could do it, you see, because we had purposely made the whole thing nonpartisan."

Work also had to be done on other angles of the Gold Feather Day. Phillips, as a thorough student of the American scene, knew that giveaway programs carry an irresistible allure. He had pondered how to link that up with getting out the vote. He had an idea and he got in touch with lawyers and then wrote federal authorities in Washington.

Approval was given to his plan, which combined features of door prizes and quiz prizes.

Richmonders were told that merely by voting they would be given a gold feather. This feather in turn would be the only requirement for attendance at a citizens' rally, where

a long list of prizes would be given away.

Anyone could attend the rally, in company with a feather-wearer, but only the wearer would be eligible for prizes. Richmond merchants approved the idea and donated prizes of every description worth nearly \$4,000. The plan called for each feather-wearer to be given a program bearing two numbers, one of these numbers to be torn off and dropped into a barrel. From time to time, during the rally, numbers would be drawn. Then the holder of the corresponding number would advance to the platform, answer an easy quiz question, and get his prize.

Grand Prize Quiz

"For the grand prize, of course, it was to be a little different," says Phillips. "Several numbers would be drawn and there would be some really interesting civic questions used in the quiz, with persons dropping out as they missed."

At this stage of proceedings, it might be well to call attention to the fact that Phillips' early dream of a bit of drama in elections really had worked into something. The original idea of the Community Chest feather had grown into extensive plumage. It also had grown into a terrific promotional job—but Henry Holland and his associates loved it.

Gold Feather Day was plugged in the press, on the radio, from the pulpit, in schools—everywhere in Richmond.

The women's organizations made 60,000 telephone calls; they mailed out 7,000 more appeals to vote.

The Richmond Citizens Association volunteered to furnish "baby sitters" for home-bound mothers; further, transportation was offered if needed.

The promotional organization was perfected to the point where it reached into every city block.

When the municipal election rolled around, last June 8, citizens went to the polls as they never had done before in a city election. It will be remembered that just four years earlier, fewer than 3,000 voted; this time, there was a record vote in the neighborhood of 29,000.

Nothing like it ever had been experienced in a Richmond city election. There were 29 candidates, including the nine-man slate of the Richmond Citizens Association. When returns finally were tabulated, eight of the association men were victorious, along with Oliver W. Hill, a Negro candidate who had the backing of his people.

The Negroes, incidentally, were sympathetic to the Gold Feather campaign, but did not take part because of segregation laws.

"We believe in your idea," one of the Negro leaders told Phillips, "but we cannot endorse anything which calls for a segregated audience. That means we cannot attend your Gold Feather celebration in the city stadium."

As the election returns proved, many white voters backed Hill, too, because they believed that the large Negro population should have a voice in council.

The night of June 8 saw the finale of the first Gold Feather Day at the city stadium, where some 6,500

gathered — admission, one Gold Feather each. The local radio stations provided talent for a stage show; other organizations also offered entertainment; experienced commentators gave election returns as they were available; in between, drawings brought out lucky numbers and quizzes on the stage provided thrills and fun for the crowd.

The "grand prize winner" was Marshall Bowles, of 2402 Third Avenue. He won everything from an all-expense trip to New York to an aluminum boat, assorted radios, quantities of tobacco, coffee, several tons of coal. The list seemed endless, even a complete steak dinner!

Symbol Proves Itself

There was no doubt, of course, as to the success of Phillips' Gold Feather method of getting out the vote. In the final analysis, it was not simply the give-away idea that attracted the citizens; only about one voter in five attended the give-away show. Phillips figured he had been right from the start; what was needed was a symbol, a rallying point, and all other things were incidental.

The cost of the whole affair, including stadium expense, gold feathers and all promotion, was only \$1,000, says Phillips; he thriftily adds that the entire sum was donated by various civic clubs.

Organizations all over the city poured congratulations on Holland and Phillips. They, in turn, already were asking themselves: "So far, so good; but what next?"

The answer came when the Richmond Citizens Association decided

it could not afford to retire from the voting scene. Continual interest at the polls, said the association, is the only answer to continued good government.

So, as the general election of last November approached, the association again offered the Gold Feather plan to the electorate. This time the association did not have any candidates, so it could take a leading part. Holland again was chairman, after another proclamation by the mayor. This time it was Mayor Stirling King—an association member—a new mayor under a new form of government.

Phillips, head of the association, and Holland worked tirelessly, just as they had done before. And the vote? Why, this time it was 35,214!

The biggest vote previously recorded in the city had been in 1944, in the general election, when 31,387 votes were cast.

In other words, in two elections—one municipal and one general—the Gold Feather method broke records each time.

Because of bad November weather, coupled with candidates' celebrations, attendance at the second Gold Feather rally did not exceed 3,000. The weather had not kept voters from the polls, it will be noted, but only from the give-away part of the program. Again, the radio stations took the lead in providing entertainment, which this time had to be indoors.

"Somehow or other," said Phillips, in a recent interview, "this second show meant a lot to me.

(Continued on page 129)

Demands on States Grow

Housing, education, institutions, highways seen among major needs calling for unprecedented financial assistance.

By JOHN S. LINEN*

INCREASED services and expanded public improvement programs are to be expected of state and local governments during the next few years. Some of the accumulated backlog of projects deferred by depression, war and post-war inflation can wait no longer. Certain types of public construction, like housing, and the expanding of public services in various fields, like better hospitalization, better sewage disposal, disease control and health protection programs, are the result of new concepts and of changes in our economy which affect the relative availability of public and private financing for certain needed or desirable activities.

These developments have already begun to show in increased sales of state and local bonds. They have immense future significance for investors and for all our citizens.

Because the year 1948 established some noteworthy records in state and municipal finance it is appropriate to review a few of the most interesting events.

An all time high was reached in total amount of state and municipal bonds sold, the *Bond Buyer* reporting the figure at \$2,983,427,653. This

compares with totals for 1943, \$507,566,466; 1946, \$1,203,557,909; 1947, \$2,353,771,562.

There were special reasons for this large volume, the most important being bonus financing by some of the large states, notably New York, Illinois and Ohio. There was also an increasing volume of public revenue financing which included \$134,000,000 Pennsylvania Turnpike bonds and a growing volume of bonds in support of federal, state or locally aided housing projects.

Short term loans of housing authority issues amounting to nearly \$500,000,000 in 1948 are not included in the total. The amount of short term financing, including these housing issues, was just over a billion dollars. Thus, the total of all tax-exempt financing was nearly four billions.

Persons actively interested in the municipal bond market have been amazed at the ability of the market to absorb this extraordinary volume of new issues without affecting the price level more adversely than has been the case.

The benefits of tax exemption are becoming more widely understood and appreciated, although there doubtless are still large numbers of individual and corporate investors to whom tax exemption would mean a great deal in improving net income but who don't even suspect that there is such a thing as a bond

*Mr. Linen, vice president of the Chase National Bank, is a member of the Council of the National Municipal League and a member of the League's Committee on a Model Fiscal Program. He is also on the faculty of the Graduate School of Banking of the American Bankers Association.

the income from which is free from federal income taxes.

Buyers of equity securities are frequently seeking capital gains. If these are realized, a good slice goes for taxes. A well balanced investment position should include some tax-exempt municipal bonds in many cases where they are not given a moment's consideration.

The fact that many municipal bonds are non-callable has in years past paid extraordinary benefits to holders of such securities. While the rates prevailing today do not hold great promise of substantial profits, I recall very well a sale to an institutional customer of a sizable block of city of Louisville, Kentucky, 4½s of 1969 at 102½ in 1932. We bought these same bonds back in 1941 at a price of 159⅛. Here was a 50 per cent profit in practically a riskless investment so far as security of principal was concerned.

A substantial change in interest rates can, of course, result in a material change in the market value of any long term bonds, but the risk of any loss of principal or interest in the case of any reasonably well selected municipal obligation is small. The experience in equities in poor markets has been less favorable and this may also be said of corporate bonds.

In pointing out the merits of tax exempt securities, I do not, of course, wish to disparage stock purchases on appropriate occasions nor would I deprecate the value of corporate bonds. One of the serious shortcomings in our present national economy is the difficulty which sur-

rounds desirable equity financing. There are many reasons for this, one of the most important being the high level of federal income taxes on individuals and corporations. It is because of these taxes that much money that should and under other circumstances would go into equities is seeking the shelter of tax-exempt securities.

Effect of New Issues

I am not persuaded that the prospective volume of municipal bond issues will of itself force the price level much below present rates during the year, although there promises to be an abundant supply of new issues. The accumulation of needs for public improvements during the past decade, in spite of substantial federal grants and assistance, is tremendous. Added to these are newly conceived purposes, such as slum clearing and low cost housing and bonus financing, full authorization of which is in some instances still pending.

A federal housing bill will probably be passed by Congress. The bill under consideration, if passed, may have an important effect upon municipal bond prices as it contemplates the sale, over a period of years, of about nine billion dollars' worth of bonds, interest on which, it is expected, will be exempt from the federal income tax. If and when this program gets under way it may conceivably increase the annual volume of tax-exempt financing by as much as a billion and a half dollars. This added volume would without question adversely affect the price level and if the program is expedited, so

that long term financing is inaugurated in any volume later this year, I would expect the market to give ground.

The related volume of corporate financing and the market support or non-support of present day values will, in my judgment, also have an important bearing on the ultimate trend of municipal bond prices.

The increasing demands being made particularly upon state governments and the obligations they have been willing to assume deserve study.

The housing problem is acute in many areas and the large amount of public funds directed by both the federal and state governments to alleviate this need has brought great assistance and long range relief. Anyone who has seen some of these larger projects in operation must be impressed with the constructive health and social gains they make possible. Veterans and their families have appropriately received preferential treatment.

Large new housing projects in turn create needs for relocated school facilities, water and sewer extensions, new roads and parking accommodations.

School capital and operating needs and costs have made unprecedented claims upon state revenues. Local governments cannot in many cases support the higher costs prevailing today without a greater share of state aid. The increasing difficulty of the higher educational institutions, which until now have been privately supported and operated, is likely ultimately to place heavier re-

sponsibilities upon state or local municipal colleges and universities. The possibility exists, whether we like it or not, that some public assistance to private institutions may have to be given if our educational standards and facilities are to be maintained.

Educational Program

A public policy is short-sighted indeed that provides acceptable physical properties for education but fails to support a teaching staff that assures a character of personnel suitable to direct the reasoning processes and thinking of our youth. Some of the social problems that plague us are doubtless due to lack of suitable leadership and instruction in our educational institutions.

The individual freedoms and the independent thinking which have helped make this nation great in opportunities and privilege require both individual restraints and a measure of wisdom and consideration for others if we are to deserve the benefits of these blessings and continue to enjoy them. With the protection given to the personal and civic liberties we enjoy there should go instruction that will emphasize the extent of these benefits and privileges as compared with those available to citizens of other countries. With all of our shortcomings and the costliness of political maneuvering in our democratic form of government, which we are so free to criticize, we belittle and forget the priceless and hard won possessions which are our heritage.

It is a human failing to accept the good things of life as our natural

right and to raise our voices only to complain or criticize. It is especially desirable, therefore, that our educational program develop in young people respect, understanding and appreciation of the unusual liberties and privileges we have as citizens of the U. S. A., as well as an ability to distinguish our imperfections and constructively to criticize our errors and wrongdoings.

Little need be said about state institutional care, including hospitalization for the mentally ill and penal institutions, beyond the fact that not much was done during the war to improve facilities, if indeed adequate provision was made for maintenance and replacements. Attention to many such needs must not be longer delayed.

A related subject vital to our national health is local hospital operation. This problem is increasingly difficult because of greatly stepped up costs and an inability to make charges that will cover the costs for all patients. Patients in private and semi-private rooms are now charged as much as can be reasonably asked, but substantial deficits are plaguing both public and privately supported hospitals, with no relief in sight except from the state government. Local governments are unable to meet the increased costs in their already crowded budgets.

This tendency of essential local service agencies to lean more and more on state, and in some cases on federal, assistance should be recognized as unfortunate and away from the fundamental concepts of our democracy in action. A more whole-

some local support is engendered both financially and in volunteer service when a community feels that the hospital and other social service agencies are its own projects and they must in some way succeed. Constructive and systematic encouragement for joint employer and employee insurance against hospital and medical costs is one means of giving effective assistance.

The cost of a long and protracted illness requiring hospitalization and special nursing is a frightening thing to families even in a fairly liberal income bracket. Where protections can be availed of, it is desirable that this be done.

Bonuses for Veterans

Because of a natural desire to express appreciation to the returned veterans by a specific act, there has been a reluctance on the part both of the public and public officials to balance the essential need of bonus payments against other demands, such as those already discussed, which serve the veterans and the public as well.

When all the various public needs that are pressing for attention are listed in their appropriate order, depending upon the circumstances and the state involved, one cannot but admire the realistic and forthright position taken by the newly elected governor of North Carolina, Hon. William Kerr Scott. On the subject of a state bond issue to pay a cash bonus to the veterans of World War II, he said:

These men and women merit every consideration the state can show them in gratitude for their sacrifice,

but I am convinced that the majority of veterans do not desire to be set apart as a special class. A great many of them have told me that, and also that the best bonus their state can grant them is better government and improved public services that will bring about better living conditions and open greater avenues of opportunity. That, also, is my belief.

California has dealt with veterans' needs in an interesting way. Recognizing the acute situation in housing and the establishment of returned veterans in productive occupations, a veterans' loan plan, under the title of Veterans' Farm and Home Purchase Plan, was financed by the sale of general obligation bonds of the state. This plan was inaugurated in 1921 and was simply expanded to meet present day needs. Through 1947 approximately 7,500 veterans of World War II had purchased properties with this assistance. This plan has functioned very successfully. It has aided veterans constructively by helping them secure both homes and farms, thereby meeting the problems of housing and occupation. Furthermore, the loans are reported as being maintained in satisfactory form, thus placing the operation on a sound business basis.

While discussing California it is appropriate to speak of a less laudable development, the old age pension constitutional amendment proposition initiated by petition and approved by a majority of the voters last November.

The dangers in this enactment

have developed a good deal of consternation and apprehension. Briefly, it provides for an increase in pension allowances which will add an undetermined annual charge on the state treasury estimated to run from \$110,000,000 to \$163,000,000. No specific provisions were made for these additional revenues in the initiative act, but more important still is the fact that the language was so vague as to raise some doubt as to whether this claim against the state treasury may not rank ahead of the state's allocation of school aid to local governmental units, the payment of wages to state employees or state debt service.

Unsound Initiative Measures

This sounds too fantastic to deserve any credence, which makes it all the more important that the country understand the threat of unsound measures initiated by self-interest groups without appropriate checking as to practicability, language used and simultaneous provision for adequate revenues. Happily there is some possibility of the whole proposition being repealed by another referendum. The very fact that the amendment is so bad gives reason to hope the need for its repeal or substantial modification will be better understood and acted upon.

In conclusion, the financial demands on state governments will be more varied than in times past and more significant in their effect upon our economic and social life than may be fully recognized at present.

Rhode Island Tries Primary

New law gives advantage to party committee designees but opens door to opponents, few of whom win in first election.

By RICHARD S. CHILDS*

TRAILING in the 60-year procession, Rhode Island in 1948 adopted direct primary in place of the discredited caucus and convention system. It held its first official party primary for state and municipal elections in September. There are no county or judicial elections in Rhode Island and the idea of separation of state and municipal elections has not yet reached it.

The new law is in general a good one. It provides for a closed primary; official ward, district and state committees with a simple and fixed structure; official ballots; official count and simple procedure for securing a place on the primary ballot. The deadline for filing is the same for candidates endorsed by the official party committees as for others.

One feature is novel and provides the justification for this examination. The provision reads, "The names of candidates having the endorsement of their party committees shall be printed in the first column at the right of the title of the offices they seek and shall be marked with an asterisk."

Charles Evans Hughes, if he knew of this feature of the law before he died, would have been interested, for it was a feature of the Hinman-Green bill which he valiantly and unavailingly supported as

governor of New York in 1907-1911. His idea was novel at the time and its acceptance in the Rhode Island law is apparently the first in any of the direct primary laws.

His proposal provided for identification of the official committee designees and a three weeks' waiting period after the designations were made so that voters could examine the irrevocable lists submitted by party committees and have the remaining period of three weeks in which to file petitions for opposing candidates.

Governor Hughes expounded his theory in a famous speech in Buffalo in 1909:

"In the case of candidates for public office, as the committee designation is first presented it receives first place on the ballot under the title of the office. Other candidates appear in the order in which the petitions designating them are filed. There can be no objection to this, as necessarily the name presented as the designation of the committee which has been chosen in the manner stated is presented to be approved or disapproved. But to avoid any improper advantage being derived from giving it this logical place, all the names on the ballot are consecutively numbered so that each candidate has his own identifying number. . . .

"The bill also allows proper time for the designation of candidates

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by petition after the designations by party committees are filed. Thus party committee designations are to be filed on or before the seventh Tuesday before the primary and those by petition on or before the fourth Tuesday before the primary.

"Meetings of party committees to designate candidates are to be public and the procedure is regulated. The roll is called and each committeeman desiring to present a candidate must in his turn arise and announce the name he wishes to propose. Then there is a second roll call for a vote upon the names so presented. If there is no choice, there is another roll call for the presentation of names and then another one for the vote upon the names.

"The candidate selected for the committee designation must receive a majority of all the votes entitled to be cast by all the members of the committee whether present or not. Each committeeman therefore must go on record openly before his constituents. Whatever secret consultations or meetings may have been had, the time comes when each one must declare himself responsible. . . .

"Opportunity will be afforded for investigating the genesis of candidacies, the relationships of the men proposed as candidates and all objections to their character and qualifications. The fact that this opportunity exists will be a powerful deterrent from the suggestion of men who will not bear investigation. . . .

"Each candidate may be sub-

jected to scrutiny and if the party voters are dissatisfied with anyone on the list, they will have opportunity to express their opposition."

Governor Hughes glossed over the question of having official designees identified as such by first position on the ballot for this was at the time opposed by local civic groups such as the Citizens' Union of New York City and, in later years, the Progressive party, which presented what it regarded as an improved measure in 1913. The feeling was that first position, particularly in cases where there were numerous candidates and a mild campaign, would give party leaders advantages which had nothing to do with the merits of their candidates. (The Hinman-Green bill, however, required all nominations for party committeemen to be made by petition and placed on the ballot in alphabetical order.)

In his last speech on the subject, delivered at the 1920 convention of the National Municipal League, of which he was then president, Mr. Hughes made no mention of the identification feature.¹

Identification Debated

During the preparation of the Rhode Island law, identification of party committee designees on the ballot by the asterisk was extensively debated. It does not appear that the name of Charles Evans Hughes was invoked but the same theory, that easy identification of the regular nominees would be a bit of information desired as well as needed by

¹See the REVIEW, January 1921, pages 23-31.

many of the voters so that they could vote those candidates up or down as they pleased, was potent in securing adoption of the asterisk on the primary ballots.

It is not possible from the first trial of this system in Rhode Island to draw any convincing conclusions. The Democratic and Republican primaries were held nine days apart. The Republicans on September 20 turned out to the extent of nearly 50 per cent of the eligibles with, of course, larger turnouts in cities where the mayoralty or the congressional designees were encountering competition. Typical outcomes:

For U. S. senator—Hazard (endorsed) 31,961, Jackvony 11,677, Sundlun 9,960; for governor—Ruerat (endorsed) 30,045, Archambault 18,879, Windsor 3,285. The endorsed candidates for lieutenant governor, secretary of state and attorney general each had opponents with similar outcomes; the endorsed candidate for general treasurer had no opposition.

One nominee for Congress had no opposition; the other endorsed candidate, Paolino, secured 11,017 votes against three competitors whose votes were 8,488, 5,326 and 1,068. The endorsed candidate for mayor of Providence got 9,254 votes versus an opponent with 3,854, and similar percentages ruled in five other cities. In the remaining city the endorsee had no opposition.

For the state assembly, in the 27 districts two endorsees were defeated, in 23 the endorsees won and in two there were no contests. A scattering of defeats for endorsed candi-

dates occurred in some municipal wards among Rhode Island's seven cities.

In the Democratic primary on September 30 one-third of the eligible voters turned out and contests were much scarcer. There were no contests against the endorsees for senator, governor, lieutenant governor or secretary of state. Endorsees won both congressional nominations and all the mayoralty nominations in the several cities.

Rhode Island has been Democratic for some years but the activity in the Republican party reflected hopes for a great party comeback.

Law Worked Satisfactorily

The Providence *Journal-Bulletin*, a high grade newspaper which covers the state like a blanket, editorially reported satisfaction with the working of the law as compared with the obscurity of the prior nomination process. There were complaints of fraudulent signatures to nominating petitions of some contestants; persons who had not signed received thank you letters from the candidates. Votes were cast on machines supplemented by paper ballots in some localities where the length of the ballot, including nine ward committee members, carried the list beyond the machine's capacity.

Leaders of both parties were behind the insistence on the provision of the law for the asterisk and the advantageous first-column position on the voting machines. The outcome of the contests at the first trial may or may not support their preference, for the number of persons who competed against endorsees in the

Republican party and the considerable support which some of them secured, may have been a surprise.

There was no pervasive rebellion against the authorities of either party; the contests were by individuals who were disappointed at failure to receive endorsement and in one important case, that of Mr. Main, an outstanding critic of the party management in Woonsocket, the Republican nomination for mayor was obtained not at the primary poll but by success in securing the endorsement.

The reporting of the election exhibits with great clarity the fact that the responsibility of the official party managers is highly emphasized by labelling their candidates on the ballot. Whether this caused them to cater more deferentially to the rank and file vote, which obviously ran far beyond the habitual attendance at caucuses, is hard to know. At any rate, the next morning's news was all in terms of the success and occasional non-success of the "endorsed candidates" all over the state. Whether the result will be more contests, or fewer, in future

elections remains to be learned from further experience.

DRAMA GETS OUT THE VOTE

(Continued from page 120)

"I guess it was because the kids played such a large part in it. You know, at one place in the program the Thomas Jefferson High School band provided the music as John Marshall High cadets stepped up, in turn, with the flags of the United Nations and placed them about the stage.

"Then Sue Hallam, president of the John Marshall student body, gave a beautiful little talk on what all this meant to youth. There were lots of other things, too," and here the voice of this matter-of-fact, broad-shouldered businessman grew quite soft, "but those kids! They're Richmond; they're America. If we can keep *them* interested, good government will take care of itself."

The Gold Feather plan, with all its attendant drama, appears firmly rooted in Richmond. It seems equally certain that the plan would work anywhere.

Our 'Exploding' Big Cities

Great urban centers 'may crumble about us' unless we find orderly plan for dispersion of people, trade and industry.

By WILLIAM L. C. WHEATON*

THE decentralization of our cities is certainly not news to those concerned largely with municipal affairs, who are aware that the last two decennial census reports showed declines in population for a number of central cities. They are familiar with the growing tendency for new homes, factories and stores to be located outside our central cities.

Some of the major problems that have resulted from this trend are traffic congestion, loss of tax values, and the difficulties of maintaining services for large non-taxpaying day-time populations.

My thesis is quite simple. Our cities are disintegrating and spreading out into the countryside at a much more rapid rate than we realize. The economic and technical forces which held cities together have largely disappeared and we are upon the verge of a further and more rapid disintegration which may alter the structure of our cities radically within relatively few years as the history of cities is counted. Our cities are literally exploding over the American landscape.

In the last great building boom 80 per cent of our new non-farm

homes were built within the boundaries of cities and towns. Only 20 per cent were built in what are called non-farm areas, that is, outside the boundaries of incorporated places of 2,500 or greater population. In 1945, 34 per cent of our housing was built in such rural areas. In 1946 the proportion jumped to 38 per cent and in 1947 it jumped again to 43 per cent. At the present time nearly 60 per cent of new residential construction is either wholly outside incorporated cities or towns or in the smaller towns that are beyond what have hitherto been regarded as developed city areas.

A recent sample survey by the Bureau of Labor Statistics indicates that less than a third of new residential construction is going into central cities. In such widely scattered cities as Atlanta, Washington, D. C., and San Francisco, 75 per cent of the new construction has been outside the city. If a high level of residential construction is maintained, this factor alone could siphon almost 30 per cent of our present urban population into the country by 1960.

I do not believe it possible, but these ratios suggest that our present cities might lose half their present population in less than a generation. I would also like to point out that many factors in the residential construction scene in the last two years have served to prevent rather than to encourage more rapid decentrali-

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ization and that the prospect appears to be for more rather than less decentralization in the future.

Let us consider next the location of retail trade. Although the data are quite inadequate, various studies indicate that during the 30s central city shopping areas lost from 5 to 10 per cent of their trade to suburban areas. Apparently they have already lost some similar proportion of the total volume of retail trade during this decade.

Suburban Shopping Centers

In addition, the spectacular successes of a number of outlying shopping centers, buttressed by increasingly hopeless traffic and parking problems in central areas, have led retail merchandisers into a mass movement in favor of suburban locations. A majority of the major department stores are apparently either building or planning suburban stores; major chain stores have discovered that their outlying locations are turning in increasingly higher ratios of their gross business.

The latest expression of this trend is the development of major shopping centers located fifteen to twenty miles away from the centers of cities in open country and catering exclusively to automobile trade. Several such centers are already under construction and doubtless they will be only the first of many. A friend who lives on Riverside Drive, New York City, tells me she can shop more quickly and pleasantly in Westchester County, ten miles away, than she can on Broadway, four blocks from her home. This is

symptomatic of a revolution in shopping. In a recent study of shopping areas the reasoned assumption was that central shopping areas would lose 30 per cent of their business to suburban centers in the next decade.

Industry too is moving out of the city. Power, labor supply, markets and transportation, which formerly pulled industries into the city, can now be made available more readily and more cheaply outside the city. There are no adequate data on general trends in industrial location,¹ but the trend is sufficiently widespread to be known to all. According to one study technical changes in production have more than doubled land requirements for many types of plants, and this alone is a strong decentralizing influence. Horizontal production lines, the ease and economy of truck transportation, wider use of electric power, need for parking space for employees, costs of congestion and high tax rates are certainly strong influences making for decentralization. Probably only the factor of capital investment prevents a more rapid shift and this will not operate indefinitely. The encouragement now being given to decentralization by defense authorities will accelerate the trend.

Why are our cities exploding? More than 30 years ago new methods of electric power transmission and the development of the automobile lit a delayed-action time bomb under our cities. Twenty years of depres-

¹One might cite war plant location. See also series of articles in the *Wall Street Journal* in 1948.

sion and war have prevented that bomb from going off.

In the five years, 1924-1929, the number of motor vehicles in the United States increased by roughly nine million. For the next five years the number of cars declined, then it grew slowly during the late 30s, then declined sharply during the war. Today it is growing more rapidly than ever before, at nearly twice the rate of the 20s. With the auto, of course, we got the bus, which goes anywhere, hauls any number and without any fixed investment.

Will City Disappear?

People don't have to live in cities any more. They can have all or nearly all the amenities of city life in the country. Water, electricity, automatic heat, bottled gas, low taxes, good roads, sunshine and fresh air in the countryside cannot be, or at least have not been, offset by any advantages offered by the old compact city. The economic forces which dictated central locations for trade and industry have largely disappeared. Most of the reasons for the existence of compact cities as we have known them in the past have disappeared. Will the city?

The pattern of our future cities remains largely unexplored. We can conceive of a low-density city which has a number of centers or focal points of trade and employment, but which otherwise spreads itself out over thousands of square

miles, where our present city areas are measured in hundreds. A radius of 50 miles appears to be an immediate possibility.

Or we can conceive of cities clusters of smaller towns, compactly built, each with its own business industry and residential areas, separated by green areas of agriculture and linked by modern road and rail connections for central services.

Either is possible. The latter appears to offer many advantages and presents conceivable terms for the organization and financing of public services. Yet we have had none of the discussion and popular debate upon the question which must precede any orderly plan or public policy.

The British, in their genius for government, have had such discussion and debate for more than twenty years. They have at last resolved on a national policy of encouraging the decentralization of cities into new towns, each self-contained and yet linked to its central city, each offering employment and shopping opportunities within walking or short travel distance, and yet accessible to the larger employment and merchandise markets of the metropolis.

This pattern appears to offer many desirable features for adoption here. We are exceedingly late in considering it. Our cities may well crumble about us before we have time to consider adequately their future.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Boston Officials Block Manager-P. R. Plan

Rival Petition Completed Before Others Given Out

THE weird petition race imposed by the Massachusetts legislature upon the people of Boston in their efforts for an improved plan of government has taken on not unexpected aspects of political manipulation.

Until February 2 it was supposed that success in the contest would depend on speed in obtaining the requisite number of signatures to petitions for the various governmental plans—particularly Plan A (strong mayor with council elected at large) and Plan E (council-manager and proportional representation).

On that date supporters of the different plans were to apply to the Boston Election Commission, headed by Joseph Connors, former secretary to Mayor Curley, for petitions, which would then be printed and given to the respective groups.

A Plan A representative was on hand at the Election Commission office three hours before it opened on February 2, followed shortly thereafter by representatives of a phantom Plan E organization that had been inactive and of a Plan D group that unexpectedly put in an appearance. Francis X. Ahearn, chairman of the active Plan E for Boston Committee, was relegated to fourth place.

These groups, it was supposed, would receive the printed petition blanks simultaneously. Instead the Plan A group—backed by Mayor Curley and his organization—received a large batch of its printed forms on

the same day they were applied for; the Election Commission announced that the inactive rival Plan E group would have petitions printed for it, as well as the Plan D and the active Plan E groups, thus further delaying the printing of forms for the last named organization. Six days later the Plan E group was notified that its petitions were available.

The Curley organization, of course, proceeded to gather the requisite 41,068 Plan A signatures without delay.

Three different court actions have been started by Mr. Ahearn, George A. McLaughlin, attorney, and others for the Plan E group. In recessing a court hearing on an action to void the petitions issued to that time, Judge Harold P. Williams, of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, said that there was a "serious question as to good faith in the conduct of the election commission."

At the hearing the superintendent of the city printing plant admitted that he had received from Mr. Connors copy for Plan A petitions some five days before requests for petitions could be accepted by the election commission and had done fifteen hours of preliminary work on it.

Commenting editorially on the matter, the *Boston Traveler* said: "When one contestant jumps the gun in a foot race, the race is called back. This race should be called back. We are far from believing that a foot race is the proper model on which to base an important public decision about the government of a great city, but if a foot race must be the model, let us at least follow the rules of the track."

Reorganization Urged in Philadelphia

After thirteen months of existence, which included investigation and study of the city departments and finances of Philadelphia, the Committee of Fifteen has rendered a report on its work, with many recommendations for increased efficiency.¹

The committee was appointed in December 1947 to make a financial study which, in March 1948, was broadened to cover investigation of all city departments. One member, Councilman L. W. Egan, died in August. The final report, issued in January, was signed by all but one of the remaining fourteen members. Arthur W. Binns, a businessman, is chairman of the committee, and Robert K. Sawyer, director of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, is executive director.

Major recommendations include consolidation of the governments of the city and county of Philadelphia and creation of a new department of finance. The final report reiterated previous recommendations for creation of a budget survey commission and a personnel advisory commission; these have been established by an ordinance of the city council but legislation for repeal has already been introduced. A personnel director, under the mayor, is also urged.

A constitutional amendment to provide for city-county consolidation is proposed, and the committee also recommends passage of a state law granting cities of the first class (Philadelphia) "the right to frame, adopt, amend and revise their charters, with the exception of those powers which are primarily statewide in nature." It asserts, "It makes little

sense, as well as being a needless distraction to the state legislature, for the city to await action of the legislature on matters which are purely local in character."

The proposed department of finance would contain bureaus of the budget collections, accounting and machine operations. The office of receiver of taxes—against whom impeachment proceedings have been brought according to the dissenting report—would be abolished. A modern program of property assessment is urged upon the board of revision of taxes.

State legislation to permit the grouping of various existing bureaus into a new department of safety inspection and a bureau of sanitary inspection is suggested.

Results of the committee's investigation are set forth department by department.

Joseph A. McDonough, business manager for the Central Labor Union (AFL), refused to sign and submitted a minority report, charging that the committee was too lenient and criticizing it for not taking a more vigorous stand in view of the probability that its findings and recommendations would not be followed.

At the outset of the new year, prior to release of the committee's report, William F. Meade, Republican city chairman, announced support by Republican city leaders of a state legislative program to include a constitutional amendment for city-county consolidation and legislation to permit creation of a city charter commission with authority to revise the charter and submit the result to the voters. His plan for consolidating the city and county offices provides for grouping municipal offices into seven departments, the heads of which would be elected by the voters, in addition to the mayor, district attorney and controller.

¹See also "Corrupt But Not Contented," by Jewell Cass Phillips, the REVIEW, October 1948, page 473.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

The year 1948 saw four more adoptions of the council-manager plan not previously reported in these columns: **Naples** (population 1,253) and **Perrine** (1,054), **Florida**; **Dalhart, Texas**, (5,682); and **Lac Megantic, Quebec**, (4,529). Two municipalities adopted the plan prior to 1948: **Hart, Michigan**, (1,922) and **Clifton, Tennessee**, (750). **Brandon, Vermont**, and **Colonial Beach, Virginia**, have been removed from the official list of the International City Managers' Association because of failure to appoint managers.

Martinsville, Virginia, adopted the council-manager plan by a vote of 1,284 to 28 on January 25, 1949. It takes effect immediately.

On February 14 **Newberry, South Carolina**, (7,510) voted to become a city and to employ a full time manager. The vote on the manager proposal was 596 to 90.

At special town meetings in January two **Maine** towns voted to adopt the council-manager plan. With a record turnout of voters **Boothbay Harbor** adopted the plan by a show of hands indicating nearly unanimous approval. The plan will go into effect at the regular town meeting in March. The vote in **Berwick** was 139 to 26. Both towns will eliminate election of certain officials, such as tax collector and treasurer, at their March town meetings. These positions will either become appointive or the duties will be taken over by the town manager.

The **Lewiston, Maine, Journal** calls for thorough revision of the city charter, with its "top-heavy multi-headed structure"; study of the council-manager plan is urged.

A bill to authorize the council-manager plan for **Concord, New Hampshire**, was introduced in the state legis-

lature on January 25 at the request of the Concord Taxpayers Association. It calls for a council of nine elected at large. A charter revision committee in Concord, established by the board of aldermen in 1947, is also working on a charter draft.

The manager plan would be authorized for **Manchester, New Hampshire's** largest city, if a bill introduced in the legislature on January 24 is adopted. It substitutes a council of nine, elected at large, for the present board of fourteen aldermen elected from wards. It would also abolish the present power of the governor to appoint Manchester's finance and police commissions. A council-manager plan was rejected by a slim margin at the last city election.

A bill to authorize the manager plan for **Nashua, New Hampshire**, was introduced in the legislature on January 25. Mayor Oswald S. Maynard plans to call a meeting of representatives of various boards and commissions of the city to secure their sentiment on the proposal.

A council-manager charter bill for **Laconia, New Hampshire**, was filed in the legislature on January 25 by title only, the text to be supplied later by a local committee.

A bill for a new charter for **Keene, New Hampshire**, which adopted the council-manager plan in 1947 under the state's enabling act, would simplify that city's present setup of a two-house representative body—common council and board of aldermen, a separately elected mayor and a city manager. The proposal provides a single chamber of nine, elected at large, which would appoint the manager.

Bills have been introduced in the New Hampshire legislature by the four Democratic members of **Claremont's** legislative delegation which

would deprive the city manager of power to appoint city employees and of control of the budget of the police department, and would place the fire department under a separate commission. The four Republican members have denounced these moves.

The trustees of the village of **Waterbury, Vermont**, are studying the manager plan of government for the town and village of Waterbury, as recommended by Judge C. B. Adams, town moderator.

A committee of **Southbridge, Massachusetts**, appointed in 1947 to make a study of the town manager plan and the representative town meeting, on January 24 reported four to three against both proposals. Although finding "a lack of sound, efficient business methods in many departments, lack of coordination between departments," and "over 50 elective officers in our town government directly responsible to the voters," it merely recommended establishment of a department of public works to include the present highway, sewer, park, cemetery and engineering departments.

A bill introduced into the **Rhode Island** legislature would give cities of that state the opportunity of adopting one of four optional charters. Plan A provides the strong mayor form, Plan B the weak mayor form, and Plans C and D variations of council-manager government.

The Citizens' Charter Committee of **New Haven, Connecticut**, has voted to submit its draft of a council-manager charter to the general assembly. The bill provides a local referendum on the charter, if passed by the assembly, on June 14. The committee, which made a study of the Hartford council-manager charter, has modeled its bill along those lines.

The **New Britain, Connecticut**, city council on January 19 adopted a reso-

lution, ten to five, submitted by the citizens' nonpartisan committee, giving the committee authority to draft a council-manager charter.

The town council of **East Hartford, Connecticut**, has created a permanent charter revision committee. Among other matters the committee will investigate the council-manager form of government and suggestions for nonpartisan board of education elections.

A special town meeting in **Westport, Connecticut**, has voted unanimously to conduct a referendum on proposed charter changes. Voters will be asked to decide whether they desire changes in the charter. If so, they will indicate whether they prefer a representative town meeting form as recommended by the charter revision committee's majority report or a council-manager system as recommended in the committee's minority report.

A group of businessmen in **Trenton, New Jersey**, are circulating petitions seeking readoption of the council-manager plan by that city.

As the result of a suit to prevent a referendum election in **West New York, New Jersey**, on adoption of the council-manager plan, the newly established Superior Court of New Jersey decided that the plan as proposed was unconstitutional because it did not provide for absentee soldier voting as required under the new state constitution.

The city council of **Monroe, North Carolina**, has proposed that a new charter be drafted providing for the council-manager plan with the present council of three to be enlarged to five and to choose one of the number to be mayor.

The **North Carolina** Senate has adopted a bill authorizing **Roanoke Rapids** to vote on adoption of the manager plan.

A bill incorporating the council-manager plan for **Columbia, South Carolina**, has been drafted by a citizens' committee for action by the state legislature.

An elected charter commission in **Bay Village, Ohio**, has been working on a draft of a charter for submission to the voters by April 1. The manager plan has been under consideration for some time.

A charter commission in **Faribault, Minnesota**, is preparing a council-manager charter for submission to vote at the April 5 municipal election.

A petition calling for a charter amendment to change from council-manager to mayor-aldermanic government has been circulated in **Rhinelander, Wisconsin**.

Merrill and Monroe, Wisconsin, will vote on adoption of the council-manager plan at elections on April 5.

A representative from **Paris, Tennessee**, has introduced a bill in the state legislature to authorize referenda on council-manager charters at any time. It is opposed by the Tennessee Municipal League and the Tennessee Taxpayers' Association as a means whereby a small group in any manager city could continually harass the administration, regardless of popular opinion in general.

March 8 has been set by the city council for a vote on adoption of the manager plan in **Chillicothe, Missouri**.

Petitions calling for a special election on adoption of the manager plan have been circulated in **McCook, Nebraska**, by the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Drumright, Oklahoma, voted 432 to 132 on December 28 to elect a board of freeholders which is now drafting a council-manager charter.

Electors of **Britton, Oklahoma**, will

vote April 5 on an amendment to the city charter to provide for appointment of a city manager.

A movement for preparation of a manager charter is under way in **Watonga, Oklahoma**.

Plainview, Texas, by a vote of 559 to 352 (unofficial) on January 25 rejected a manager charter drafted by a charter commission during the past year. Voting was hampered by sleet and freezing weather.

Submission of a charter amendment to create the office of city manager was proposed in **Los Angeles, California**, by a resolution introduced in the city council on January 17.

A freeholders' committee in **Sunnyvale, California**, has drafted a council-manager charter and placed it before the citizens for study.

The Civic League of **Palo Alto, California**, advocates charter revision and is studying the manager plan.

New York City Creates Traffic Commission

The board of estimate and the city council of New York City have adopted a charter amendment establishing a traffic commission to study the city's traffic problems and promulgate rules for traffic control. It consists of the executive director of a new department of traffic, the police commissioner, commissioner of public works, chairman of the triborough bridge and tunnel authority, chairman of the city planning commission, chairman of the board of transportation and chief engineer of the board of estimate.

Mayor William O'Dwyer has appointed John Riedel, chief engineer of the board of estimate, as chairman of the commission, and selected a Detroit traffic engineer, T. T. Wiley, as executive director of the new department.

Cities Join National Traffic Safety Program

Nearly 800 cities in the United States have adopted a traffic safety education program that was started a year ago by the National Safety Council and is reported to be the first such program developed for nation-wide use.

Peoria, Illinois, put the program to work last year, and for the first eleven months of 1948 had only eight traffic deaths compared to 21 for the same period in 1947. Official and citizens' organizations joined forces in the program called the Peoria Traffic Safety Plan. Radio and newspaper publicity, posters, leaflets and special projects were used to make the public safety-conscious.

Los Angeles, which first inaugurated the continuous traffic safety education drive, has had spectacular results. In the first eleven months of 1948 the traffic death toll was down 104 from a high of 350 traffic fatalities in the same period in 1947.

Tax Support Sought for Ohio League

The Association of Ohio Municipalities, which has suffered lack of funds because cities have no statutory power to contribute to it, is sponsoring a bill in the legislature to permit municipalities to pay dues to such an organization.

IULA to Meet in Geneva in September

The International Union of Local Authorities will hold its next conference in Geneva, Switzerland, on September 12, 1949. An invitation has been extended by the municipal officials of that city and accepted by the International Union at the meeting of its permanent bureau held in The Hague in September 1948.

Topics to be discussed at the Geneva conference will include the housing shortage, traffic safety and central municipal heating.

Municipal officials from the member countries, especially from the United States, are cordially invited to attend.

The American Committee of the IULA is at 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago 37, Illinois.

Metropolitan Areas Defined by Federal Government

The United States Bureau of the Budget announced on January 30 that standard definitions for 87 of the larger metropolitan areas in the United States have been developed for use by all federal agencies compiling statistical data and that this will be done eventually for some 150 metropolitan areas of at least 100,000 population. Heretofore there have been four definitions of a given metropolitan area.

State Building Code Proposed in New York

A statewide modernized building code is urged by Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York as a means of cutting building costs at least 10 per cent. He presented the plan on February 2 at a meeting of executives of 80 cities, counties and towns. Declaring that the idea had met general approval of the mayors of the state's cities, he announced that the legislature would be asked to authorize appointment of a commission to draft the new code, hold hearings and place the final code in effect. It was proposed that the code should set minimum standards of performance of materials rather than specify kinds, quantities and sizes.

A recent survey by the National Bureau of Standards of building codes of cities in the United States over

5,000 population reveals that more than half of all cities either have no building codes at all or are operating under regulations more than twenty years old. Despite pressure for revision and modernization, only 175 of the 2,094 cities of over 5,000 population are making major changes in their codes, 26 are contemplating major revisions, 29 have started work on drafting new codes and five are "thinking about it." Those with no codes at all number 385.

Adoption by Reference

To facilitate adoption of modern codes and to avoid the excessive cost of publishing lengthy building code ordinances, fifteen states have passed enabling acts authorizing municipalities to adopt codes by reference.

Instead of reproducing detailed electrical, plumbing and building standards in their ordinances, cities in these states may merely adopt a brief law referring to the technical code by title and date. Then the ordinance is published in the newspapers in the regular manner as required by law.

New York cities and first-class villages, acting under their constitutional home rule power, may enact local laws permitting the adoption of codes by reference.

Many cities have deferred adoption of model standards and codes because of their prohibitive publication costs.

In its recent publication, "Suggested State Legislation," the drafting committee of the Council of State Governments recommends the general adoption of statutes allowing building codes to be adopted by reference.

Constitution Commission Chosen in Kentucky

Appointment of a seven-man Constitution Review Commission was an-

nounced on February 1 by Governor Earle C. Clements. All are judges or lawyers, including one circuit judge, two former Court of Appeals judges (one of the two being former Governor Simeon Willis), and one former circuit judge. Two members are Republicans.

The commission is to make periodic reports to the governor on revising Kentucky's constitution and a final report with findings and recommendations to the 1950 legislature. Its term is to March 31, 1950. Members receive no pay except actual expenses. The commission may employ necessary personnel and enlist the aid of state agencies. It may appoint subcommittees, including members from outside the commission.

Constitutional Revision and Home Rule in Maryland?

Interest in home rule and in constitutional changes for that and other purposes is stirring in Maryland. The League of Municipalities is sponsoring a constitutional amendment for municipal home rule. Such action, to cure the "intolerable situation" that burdens the legislature with local bills, was urged at a recent league meeting by Judge Sherbow of the Maryland Court of Appeals. In Montgomery County support for the idea of a constitutional convention has come from Democratic organization sources.

No Constitutional Convention Says Michigan Supreme Court

By a unanimous decision late in January the Michigan Supreme Court ruled that the proposal for a constitutional convention, voted on at the general election November 2, 1948, failed to meet the constitutional requirement that such a proposal must receive a majority of the total vote cast at the election. The measure re-

ceived a popular vote¹ of 855,451 in favor and 799,198 against, but the favorable vote was much less than a majority of the number of votes for governor. The attorney general contended that the election on the question of calling a convention was not a part of the general election, but was merely contemporaneous with it. The court, however, decided otherwise.

Texans to Study Constitutional Revision

At a meeting of 185 Texas citizens in Austin on January 6, 1949, a Citizens' Committee on the Constitution was organized to study the 1876 constitution of Texas with a view to its improvement by revision. The meeting was called by Governor Beauford H. Jester as a result of activities of an organizing committee headed by Virgil T. Seaberry of Eastland, Texas. Invitations were sent to a list of some 250 Texans throughout the state.

Besides organizing as a permanent committee the group adopted a resolution urging the legislature to establish a commission to study the state constitution and make recommendations to the legislature.

Reapportionment Urged in Indiana—for 1953

The House Judiciary Committee of the Indiana legislature has approved a proposed constitutional amendment providing for legislative reapportionment every ten years, beginning in 1953, and based on the federal census.

Indiana was last redistricted for legislative purposes 30 years ago, on the basis of the number of male voters. The present state constitution calls for an enumeration of male voters every six years. State Auditor

James M. Probst has announced that he will supply county assessors with enumeration forms. The further cost would have to be met by the counties, but it is pointed out that this would be obviated in the future if the proposed amendment is adopted. An incomplete count was made in 1943, with less than one-third of the counties complying.

Federal Administrative Reorganization Gets Good Start

Shortly after Congress received the first of a series of fifteen reports of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, headed by ex-President Herbert Hoover, the House of Representatives on February 7 approved, 356 to 9, a bill to grant sweeping reorganization powers to the president. This measure, which was expected to be under consideration by the Senate until March at least, would enable the president to prepare a reorganization plan for the executive branch, which would be submitted to Congress and, if not disapproved within 60 days by concurrent resolution of Senate and House, would go into effect.

The bill limits reorganization powers to the extent that plans for the armed services and for six specified civil agencies cannot be included in a general plan but must be submitted separately. The six agencies are the Interstate Commerce Commission, Federal Reserve Board, Securities and Exchange Commission, National Mediation Board, Railroad Retirement Board and National Railroad Adjustment Board.

Mr. Hoover vigorously attacked exemption of any agencies from a comprehensive reorganization scheme, and particularly charged that there is "tremendous waste and duplication," amounting to hundreds of millions of

¹Preliminary figures of 302,250 to 164,241 were given on page 598 of the REVIEW for December 1948.

dollars annually, in the work of the Army Engineers Corps and various civil agencies. He stated that total annual savings from general administrative reorganization were estimated at three billion dollars or more.

The initial report of the Hoover commission recommended that 65 executive agencies be consolidated into about one-third as many. Among various other recommendations were:

1. Establishment of a staff secretary in the White House; his duties would include a current summary for the president of the status of problems assigned to his advisers, departments and agencies, and on the work of cabinet, interdepartmental and public advisory committees;

2. An office of personnel in the executive department, headed by a director of personnel who would also be chairman of the Civil Service Commission;

3. Expansion and strengthening of the Office of the Budget "as the managerial arm of the president";

4. Replacement of the Council of Economic Advisers by an Office of the Economic Adviser, with a single head;

5. Providing the president with adequate funds to enable him to use advisory commissions and to employ consultants or personal advisers "of eminence and prestige" from time to time;

6. Placing the National Security Council and the National Security Resources Board and their staffs in the executive office of the president formally as well as in practice;

7. Better geographical arrangement of administrative regions and regional headquarters, with greater utilization of centralized and pooled administrative services.

In a recent address before the Economic Club of New York, Mr. Hoover commented that acceptance of the

recommendations would "depend entirely on the citizens of the United States."

A National Commission on Intergovernmental Relations

A bill has been introduced in Congress for establishment of a bipartisan National Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, including federal, state and local representation. It provides for fourteen members, ten of whom would be appointed by the president, two by the president of the Senate and two by the speaker of the House; the latter four would be members of the Senate and House respectively.

Two of the president's appointees would be members of the executive department with experience in intergovernmental relations and two would be private citizens, constituting part of the group of eight federal representatives.

State representatives would include two state officials and one private citizen appointed by the president from a panel of six or more names prepared by the executive committee of the Governors' Conference. Municipalities would be represented by two municipal officials and one private citizen, from panels suggested by the American Municipal Association, the International City Managers' Association and the United State Conference of Mayors.

Purposes of the commission, as set forth in the bill, are:

1. Reduction in total governmental expenditures to the lowest possible level consistent with efficient performance of essential services, activities and functions.

2. Elimination of duplication and overlapping services, activities and functions, and securing of a better co-

(Continued on page 147)

County and Township Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Montgomery County Charter Wins in Courts

Newly Elected Council Sets Up Manager Plan

THE suit for injunction filed by four members of the board of commissioners of Montgomery County, Maryland,¹ has been rejected by both the Montgomery County Circuit Court and, on appeal, by the Maryland Court of Appeals.

Maryland's highest court upheld the Circuit Court decision on December 16 in order to permit election of the county council under the new charter on January 6 as scheduled. Its formal opinion, however, was delayed until January 21.

In answer to the allegations of the plaintiffs, seeking to prevent the election on the ground that it would be unconstitutional, the court declared that there were no statutes which affected the current procedure regarding special elections as provided in the county charter. Therefore, it would not hold such procedure unconstitutional because it did not comply with statutes regarding regular elections.

The court reasoned that, "The commissioners hold their office subject to the possibility they may be ousted under provisions of the home rule amendment providing for the adoption of a charter." The court concluded that the Montgomery County charter "is an expression of the will of the people . . . acting in accordance with their rights and privileges."

In the January 6 special election, the charterites won all the seats on

the newly created county council for which there were contests. The new council took office on January 18.

Administrative Integration Urged for Washington County

The Municipal League of Seattle recently published further evidence of the inadequacies of King County's government to operate effectively. It urged that the solution might well be found by integration of financial responsibilities at the top of the administrative structure.

The King County difficulties stem from the fact that the board of commissioners must appropriate moneys for the elected officials over whom they have very limited control. Recently, the county commissioners, in reviewing the 1949 budget, ascertained that revenues were much below departmental requests. When they asked the elected department heads to submit revised estimates at lower figures, the department heads refused to take any action. Consequently, the county commissioners made arbitrary cuts in the requests. Thereupon, the department heads dismissed such employees as apparently were most needed, in order to secure maximum disruption of county affairs. Their purpose appeared to be to win public opinion to their side and force the commissioners to provide additional funds.

City-County Health Consolidation Wins

A move to secure consolidation of health units in Guilford County and its two major cities, Greensboro and High Point,¹ has now received approval by the last of the three governments, Greensboro.

¹See the REVIEW, January 1948, page 46.

Both the city council of Pueblo, Colorado, and the county commissioners of Pueblo County recently have discussed the advisability of consolidating city and county into a single governmental unit. They believe that such consolidation would result in the elimination of duplicating services. A system of tax zones would be established in order that rural areas would not be taxed for municipal services.

As an alternative solution to city-county consolidation of the Birmingham area, which was defeated decisively by the voters of Alabama last November,² the Jefferson County delegation plans to sponsor a bill in the next session of the legislature which would merely expand the corporate limits of Birmingham to bring into the city the highly industrialized and residential suburban areas.

Manager Plan Considered in New York County

St. Lawrence County, New York, is considering adoption of the manager plan, since its budget has exceeded the million-dollar mark. The chairman of the board of supervisors has observed that the money spent by county government has become too large to be administered effectively by persons who do not have adequate training. He believes the county manager form of government might be the solution. The *Potsdam Courier Freeman* published an editorial also favoring the county manager plan.

City-County Separation Advocated for Minneapolis

An alderman of the city of Minneapolis is introducing a bill in the Minnesota state legislature to separate

the city from the county of Hennepin. It is asserted that a million dollars in operating costs would be saved by providing for a simpler form of government. Minneapolis residents at present pay more than 90 per cent of the Hennepin County taxes. After removal of the city of Minneapolis, rural Hennepin still would be the fourth largest county in the state from the point of view of assessed valuation.

The board of directors of the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce has recommended that the question of consolidation-separation be referred to a state legislative committee for study.

Counties Seek Federal Payments in Lieu of Taxes

The National Association of County Officials has announced that its major objective for 1949 is to secure payments in lieu of taxes on federal government property. In its bulletin, *Capitol to Court House*, the association declares, "The purpose is twofold: first, to have the desired legislation enacted, and second, to demonstrate that the power of the nation's counties can be exerted in union whenever an effort for the public good is required."

Declaratory Judgment Sought

The county home rule provisions of the Texas constitution, adopted in 1933, soon may be the subject of official interpretation by the courts. The question has arisen as to whether the clause relating to a majority of the popular votes refers to a majority of all votes cast in the election or a majority of the votes cast on the home rule charter. Because of an attorney general's opinion that the former is the correct interpretation, advocates of home rule are seeking a declaratory judgment clarifying this point.

¹See the REVIEW, February, page 93.

²See the REVIEW, December 1948, page 615.

Proportional Representation

*Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Israel Constituent Assembly Elected by P. R.

Seattle and Worcester Groups Use Hare System

THE first general election in the newly recognized state of Israel was held on January 25 to choose a constituent assembly. Following a recommendation of a commission of the United Nations, a simple list type of proportional representation, applied at large without division of the nation into geographical districts, was used.

A twelve-member committee set up by the state council supervised the election, providing some seven hundred balloting places. Names of candidates did not appear on any ballot. Each of the 21 parties contesting the election was assigned a letter of the Hebrew alphabet. The voter, on entering the voting booth, chose the letter of the party for which he desired to vote

from among all the letters and placed it in an envelope, which he sealed and deposited in a ballot box on leaving the booth. There was no opportunity to split tickets or cross off the names of undesired candidates, but the apportionment of the seats to the lists was on an accurately proportional basis.

The election was a victory for Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion. His party, Mapai, sometimes referred to as the Labor party, obtained 48 of the 120 seats in the assembly. This was much more than twice as many as the next largest party, Mapam (United Workers), which secured nineteen. Although 21 parties took part, several combined into coalition tickets and only four groups obtained more than 6 per cent of the votes or seats. The Revisionist party, which had been represented in the government, failed to obtain any seats, but the New York *Herald Tribune* ascribed this to the

ELECTION OF CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY FOR ISRAEL, JANUARY 25, 1949

Party	Votes	Seats
Mapai (Labor)	162,500* (37.0%)	48* (40.0%)
Mapam (United Workers)	64,000 (14.5%)	19 (15.8%)
United Religious	53,000 (12.0%)	16 (13.3%)
Heruth (Freedom)	49,000 (11.1%)	14 (11.7%)
General Zionist	22,500 (5.1%)	7 (5.8%)
Progressive	17,500 (4.0%)	5 (4.2%)
Sephardim	15,000 (3.4%)	4 (3.3%)
Communist	15,000 (3.4%)	4 (3.3%)
Sternist (Lehi)	5,500 (1.2%)	1 (0.8%)
Yemenite	4,500 (1.0%)	1 (0.8%)
Women's International Zionist Movement	4,000 (0.9%)	1 (0.8%)
Smaller parties	27,500 (6.2%)	—
	440,000	120

*Including Arab Democratic party, with 7,300 votes and two seats.

fact that many of its adherents transferred their allegiance to the Heruth (Freedom Movement) party.

The final results are given on page 44.

The principal opposition to Mapai leadership is expected to arise from Mapam and the Communists on the left and from the United Religious and Heruth groups on the conservative or "right-wing" side, but these sources of opposition are so divergent that continued general acceptance of Mapai leadership in Israel is to be expected.

The assembly met for the first time on February 14 at Jerusalem. In addition to its task of drafting a new constitution for Israel, it will have legislative powers. It has chosen Dr. Chaim Weizmann as president, who will appoint a prime minister from among the members of the assembly.

Civic Groups Elect Boards by P. R.

The Municipal League of Seattle has used P. R. for its elections for a number of years. The 1948 election of nine trustees was analyzed and reported to the league's by-laws committee by Albert F. Hull, membership secretary. There were seventeen candidates and 1,460 ballots cast by mail.

Mr. Hull's analysis shows that only 250 ballots indicated less than nine choices and that 766 ballots showed ten or more choices, most of them assigning an order of preference to all seventeen candidates.

The ballots were prepared in four groups so that the positions on the ballot could be fairly distributed, with each name appearing among the first four or five on one quarter of the ballots. Mr. Hull was therefore able to study the question of whether the position of a candidate's name on the ballot may have any effect on his

chances of election. Twelve candidates obtained more votes from the portion of the ballots giving the candidate a top-group listing than from any of the other three positions, though in a few of these cases the margin was slight. Five candidates received more votes from one of the positions giving the candidate a lower listing. No reliable conclusions can be drawn from this number of votes but the result gives some evidence to support the precaution of rotating the places on the ballot.

The Worcester Citizens Plan E Association elected eleven new directors and re-elected twelve others by P. R. on January 13 at its annual election. Publicity Director Robert S. Bowditch, himself among those re-elected, reported that the association kept very close to the Massachusetts P. R. voting laws in this election.

Worcester was one of the four Massachusetts cities that adopted P. R. as part of the "Plan E" council-manager form of government by referendum in November 1947 and will hold its first city election by P. R. this fall.

In the association's election, of the 359 ballots cast 356 were valid. Three write-in candidates were nominated from the floor at the meeting and two of them were elected. The counting was completed in an hour and a half under direction of Robert Fowler, Jr.

On January 23 Worcester's City Clerk Malcolm Midgley conducted a demonstration P. R. election after calling his employees together for the purpose.

Mock city council and school board elections by P. R. were held in February by the 160 organizations affiliated with the Worcester Woman's Forum. Thirty-four outstanding women leaders ran as candidates and nearly 10,000 women cast ballots. City Clerk Midgley supervised the counting.

Taxation and Finance

. . . Edited by Wade S. Smith

Snow Storms Prove Costly

31 Large Cities Spend \$7,000,000 on Removal

THE heavy snow storms which have been sweeping the western states this winter, and the deep frosts which have gripped the southwest from the Gulf of Mexico to southern California, with their extraordinarily large property damage, spotlight an aspect of winter weather whose costliness has long been known to the northern cities.

According to a survey by the American Public Works Association, "Snow and Ice Control in Large Cities," 31 such cities in northern United States and Canada spend over \$7,000,000 annually fighting snow and ice. Montreal ranks first in money set aside for the purpose with a budget appropriation of \$2,405,000 for this year. New York City originally appropriated \$1,796,322 for this season, but the December 19 storm, which cost \$1,873,000, necessitated a supplemental appropriation. The big snow of 1947—25.8 inches—cost New York \$4,692,308.

Toronto set aside \$650,000 for snow and ice removal, Boston \$500,000, Chicago \$300,000, Milwaukee \$200,000, and Winnipeg \$180,000. Portland, Oregon, averages only \$2,000 annually while Seattle, with its last snowfall of over four inches recorded in 1936, appropriated \$5,000 this year. Buffalo, whose average annual snowfall is 74 inches, allowed \$375,000 for snow work.

More than 32,000 city employees are used in snow removal by the 31 cities surveyed. New York's normal snow-fighting contingent numbers 13,800 men. Boston uses 2,400 city employees,

Washington, D. C., 2,000, Montreal 1,200, and Boston, Milwaukee and Detroit, 1,000.

Most of the cities use special work warning systems including radio, telephone and the color card method to alert personnel who work on snow and ice removal. After warnings are received from weather stations it takes from one to six hours for the cities to get all their snow-fighting equipment and personnel into action.

Snow plows are put in operation when the snow reaches a depth of from two to four inches. Most cities also use a combination of rock salt, chemicals and abrasives which are spread when it starts to snow or freeze.

Local utilities aid all 31 cities in snow and ice removal. Washington, Chicago, Baltimore, Boston, Kansas City (Missouri), New York and Winnipeg use private contractors in addition to city employees to haul snow. Twenty-nine cities use mechanical snow-loading equipment.

Six cities—Providence, Milwaukee, Washington, Chicago, Montreal and Toronto—have adopted ordinances restricting parking on streets during snow periods. Only in Montreal are sidewalks cleared of snow by city forces.

Legislative Salaries Increased

Salaries of legislators have increased in at least sixteen states during the last two years according to a compilation made by the Council of State Governments.

A constitutional amendment adopted by Washington voters in November authorizes the legislature to raise salaries. Beginning with the 1949 session Ohio lawmakers will receive

\$2,600 per year—an increase of \$600. In January 1952 Virginia legislators will receive \$1,080 each session instead of the present \$720.

New York legislators receive \$5,000 per year, double that of two years ago. New Jersey and Illinois, runners-up in present legislative pay, have increased salaries to \$3,000 yearly. New Jersey's new constitution, adopted last year, provided that legislative pay shall be set by statute.

Twenty-four states—nine of which have increased legislators' pay since 1946—now fix legislative compensation by statute. New York and New Hampshire set their legislators' pay by constitution and statute while the remaining 22 states set legislative pay by the constitution.

No Property Taxes in 21 States

States are abandoning property taxes entirely, or imposing them only as a selective or incidental levy, or not exercising their authority to levy such a tax, according to the National Association of Assessing Officers. Property taxes comprised only 4 per cent of state tax collections last year.

Arizona and Arkansas are the latest states to withdraw from the general property tax field, bringing such states to 21.

The property tax rate in Arizona for fiscal 1949 was recently set at zero by the State Tax Commission. This action was taken as a result of the all-time high reached in state surplus in fiscal 1948 when yields from virtually all taxes exceeded budgetary estimates. The state constitution restricts Arizona from accumulating surpluses in the state treasury.

Arkansas' legislature abolished the state ad valorem tax on property by repealing all statutes for its collection, effective January 1, 1949. However, voters of the state recently re-

jected a proposed constitutional amendment to remove the state from the property tax field permanently.

Effective in 1951, Texas will no longer collect property taxes for general revenue purposes. Voters recently approved a constitutional amendment which abolished the state property tax for this purpose.

States which earlier had ceased to impose general property taxes are California, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Vermont and Virginia.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 141)

ordination of such services, activities and functions among the several levels of government.

3. Attainment of such an allocation of governmental functions among the several levels of government as will contribute to economy in governmental administration on the one hand and maximum service to the public at minimum cost on the other.

4. Development, within the existing constitutional framework, of a governmental structure and such co-operative policies and procedures as will tend to overcome existing obstacles to efficient governmental administration and lay a sound foundation for future development.

5. Finding of ways and means of establishing a more orderly and less competitive fiscal relationship between the several levels of government. Major aspects of this problem include the overlapping and confused system of taxation and the increasing demands made upon the federal government and the states for tax-sharing and grants-in-aid, without following any consistent over-all pattern.

Citizen Action Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Civic Doings in the School Crowd

Youth Lends a Hand in City Planning Activity

PHILADELPHIA has a **Youth Planning Council** for high school students. The **Citizens Council on City Planning** of the city of brotherly love has welcomed it to junior membership. The 38 students at the group's first meeting, which chose an executive committee to plan future action, represented nineteen public high and vocational technical schools.

The purposes of the Youth Planning Council, as reported by the *News Letter* of the parent group, are these:

1. To give young citizens an opportunity to participate in planning and shaping the future of the city and neighborhood;
2. To provide an opportunity for students to become informed leaders with a sense of civic responsibility;
3. To provide a channel through which information concerning current civic improvement can be got to the school;
4. To provide increased assistance for improving neighborhoods through the interchange of ideas and through counsel with expert planners;
5. To provide an opportunity for young citizens to work closely with an adult citizen group;
6. To provide the opportunity for young people to gain a truer perspective and a better sense of values concerning their community.

More and more the need for directing the growth of our cities is being brought home to grade and high school pupils. San Francisco, Rich-

mond, Atlanta, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee and other cities now have planning studies in the schools.

Learning City Government

Students of public high schools in Toledo have been making a study of city government first hand. Between October and January seven seminar sessions were held at city hall with nearly a hundred pupils in attendance, who reported back to their classes.

The first seminar, which covered a general discussion of the city government setup, was conducted by Mayor Michael V. DiSalle; at the second meeting George N. Schoonmaker, then city manager, discussed boards and commissions, including the civil service commission, city plan commission, administrative board of zoning appeals, labor-management-citizens committee, commission of publicity and efficiency (which cooperated in the conduct of the seminars, publishing each program in its *Toledo City Journal*), board of transit control, board of health and many others. Other sessions dealt with specific departments.

Conduct of the seminars, it is felt, is less disconcerting to governmental operation than the usual occasional visits of groups of students to city departments. "Speakers can be arranged for in advance," says the *Journal*, "tours can be outlined to avoid interference with municipal operations, and written material may be put into better shape for use of students."

On completion of the city studies similar sessions were arranged on Lucas County's government.

Boy Legislators, Governors

The January issue of the *Kansas Government Journal* publishes the story

of Kansas' boy legislature held under the auspices of Hi-Y Clubs of the Y. M. C. A. Over two hundred members took part in the model legislature which held its sessions at the state house in Topeka. Among the nine measures passed was one lowering the voting age from 21 to 18. The session was the climax of two months of preparation by 65 Hi-Y Clubs over the state representing some three thousand members.

In welcoming **New Jersey's** boy and girl governors, Governor Alfred E. Driscoll commented that two governors might be better than one. "One could lay the cornerstones and the other could take care of official business," he commented.

"Make mine democracy," is the 1949 national birthday project of the **Camp Fire Girls**. During March it is planned to have over 360,000 girls between the ages of seven and eighteen see, do and tell democracy. There will be visits to Americanization classes for new citizens, to the state legislature, the city planning commission, etc. Members will aid in local safety drives, conservation projects, clean-up drives and participate in inter-racial and inter-religious gatherings.

In **Burlington**, 90 students of the **University of Vermont**, under the direction of Professor Heinz L. Ansbacher, questioned some five hundred local taxpayers on the city manager plan. Of those questioned, 41 per cent were unable to give a minimum explanation of what is meant by "city manager" plan, reports the **Burlington Free Press**. Of those who knew what the plan means, 52 per cent favored its adoption for their city, 25 per cent opposed it, 23 per cent had no opinion. Of those favoring the plan 87 per cent backed up their opinion by saying it was "more efficient," "worked well in other places," "eliminates politics."

The **Governor's State Conference on Youth of Minnesota**, meeting last fall in St. Paul, drew nearly 1,200 persons from 111 communities, reports *Minnesota Municipalities*. Recommendations adopted included: immediate institution of a program to meet the needs and problems of youth, creation of a governor's advisory youth council, expansion of funds and personnel of the Youth Conservation Commission, establishment of a domestic relations court, and effective coordination of the law enforcement system with a center for training of personnel in the understanding and handling of juvenile delinquency problems.

At the request of the social studies class of the **Richmond, California, Union High School**, Mayor Robert Miller added the names of two outstanding student leaders to a citizens committee appointed to recommend restriction of comic books and other entertainment considered objectionable for the youth of the area. "I wonder why no one has ever thought to do this before," commented the mayor, as he named Joyce Schoultz and Edward Phillips as the student representatives.

Several months ago in the same city, City Manager Leonard B. Horner prepared a twenty-question quiz on municipal government for high school civics classes, reports *Public Management*. Taking the test without previous discussion students averaged a 50 per cent score. After special discussion of local government, however, students again took the test, averaging 95 per cent.

How Can Democracy Be Taught in the Schools?

This thought is uppermost in the minds of many educators as well as several groups at work in the hope of finding a key to the solution.

The work of the **Civic Education Project**, going forward in Cambridge under the direction of Dr. John J. Mahoney, formerly professor of education in Boston University, is described in "Can Democracy Be Taught?" by Henry W. Holmes, professor of education emeritus at Harvard University and co-director of the project, in *The Massachusetts Teacher* for November.¹

Dr. Mahoney and his staff hope for the "fashioning of a program for the schools which will actually make a difference in civic behavior." They seek "to collect, examine and arrange materials useful in developing intelligence and civic responsibility in a democratic society," says Dr. Holmes. The project will run for three years.

Understanding Democracy—A Definition and Framework for Schools is one of two new reports of the **Citizenship Education Study** sponsored by the Detroit Public Schools and Wayne University. The authors, Florence D. Cleary, Alice M. Davis and Arnold R. Meier, have "organized the more commonly accepted specific ideas and values included in the meaning of democracy into a rather comprehensive definition."

Four major categories have been set up: (a) Dignity and worth of the individual, (b) man can and should govern himself, (c) understanding democracy's privileges and their attendant responsibilities, (d) the use of the method of intelligence in solving problems. These are developed as to aspects, criteria and manifestations.

The second report, *Democratic Citizenship and Development of Children*, is by Grace Weston, Elmer F. Pflieger and Mildred Peters of the study, as-

sisted by six Detroit teachers. It is "an evaluation framework based on criteria for democratic living and development characteristics and needs of boys and girls." Characteristics and needs are set forth for four age groups: six to eight, nine to twelve, thirteen to fifteen, and sixteen to eighteen.

Another project, the **Institute of Citizenship at Kansas State College**, now in its fourth year, was created to explore the problem on the college level and to propose solutions. It is under the direction of Carl Tjerandsen. A description of its aims and program, "A College Tackles the Problem of Citizenship," by Mr. Tjerandsen and Robert A. Walker, formerly director of the institute and now with the U. S. State Department, appears in the *Journal* of the National Education Association for January.

Dr. Alice V. Keliher, professor of education at New York University, writes in the *NEA Journal* for January on "'Men Wanted' for Democracy—How Our High Schools Can Contribute to the Building of Personality and Democracy."

Meridian Research Council Wins Goal

On January 3 citizens of Meridian, Mississippi, held a gala celebration inaugurating the council-manager plan adopted at the polls in May.¹ Had it not been for a few unselfish, far-sighted citizens who were willing to give freely of their abilities, time and money, this history making event might never have occurred.

In the summer of 1947, a small group of businessmen, having realized for some time the inadequacies and deficiencies of the commission form of government, decided that only through organized effort could conditions be remedied. Thus the **Meri-**

¹See also "A Job for Every Teacher," by Charles C. Buell, the REVIEW, December 1948, page 580.

¹See the REVIEW, February, page 90.

Meridian Research Council was formed as citizens' organization to promote good government. Membership in the organization grew rapidly and adequate funds for operating purposes came unsolicited.

Through its director the council made studies and investigations of the city government and found that inefficiency and extravagance were prevalent under the division of administrative authority among the three commissioners who also composed the city council. Based on the data developed, the research council recommended to city officials adoption of certain measures which would improve efficiency and economy, but the city council did not see fit to adopt these proposals.

In the early part of 1948, the Meridian Research Council succeeded in getting through the state legislature an enabling act which set forth a council-manager plan of government for Meridian. The act called for submission of the plan to popular vote requested by a petition signed by at least 20 per cent of the qualified voters of the city.

It took several weeks of record searching by a staff of employees to determine the approximate number of qualified voters in Meridian. Then came the task of securing the signatures of 20 per cent of these voters to the petitions, with every precaution being taken to be sure that only those qualified signed. This was necessary in order to avoid legal technicalities and to prevent any possibility of the validity of the petitions being challenged by those forces opposed to change.

All this was accomplished as a result of unremitting effort on the part of those public-spirited citizens who were determined to see that all of the citizens of Meridian had the kind of local government they deserved.

Without questioning the validity of the petitions, the city council called an election for May 18, 1948. The Research Council launched an intensive educational campaign to inform the public about the council-manager plan and its advantages over commission government. An objective and constructive approach was employed and personal and political fights were avoided. On election day a well informed electorate adopted the council-manager plan by a vote of four to one.

In September 1948, the voters elected outstanding citizens who had never before sought an elective public office as their first mayor and councilmen to serve under the new plan. These are the civic leaders who were inducted into office on January 3 with the assurance of public support and cooperation.

C. C. MOSELEY, *Managing Director*
Meridian Research Council

Municipal News Beat

Every Friday the **Toledo Municipal League** broadcasts its "Municipal News Beat" with Miss Betty Lukas as reporter. During November three of the four broadcasts had city councilmen as speakers. At the year's end Miss Lukas gave a "Cavalcade of 1948," reciting the year's developments in local government — "developments which made 1948 different from 1947 and the years before it; developments which leave much unfinished business for 1949."

* * *

Torchlight Parades

This is a bit old, so far as news is concerned, but it is worth noting that two midwest cities held torchlight parades the night before the November election in an effort to get out the vote. "Ann Arbor, Michigan, almost forgot about football," reports Robert

C. Burns of the **American Veterans Committee**. More than a hundred cars participated, blowing horns and using other noisemakers. Initiated by the AVC and the **League of Women Voters**, the parade was participated in by some fourteen civic, veteran, political and school groups.

In **Wausau, Wisconsin**, the **League of Women Voters** and the **Junior Chamber of Commerce** sponsored a similar torchlight parade as the climax to an extensive "get out the vote" campaign.

* * *

More Legislative Activity

Action along legislative lines continues to be a paramount task for citizen groups.¹ The **Seattle Municipal League** reports that its executive secretary, C. A. Crosser, will watch legislative activities at Olympia, reporting and interpreting happenings of special interest to league members through the *Seattle Municipal News*. . . . The *Oregon Voter* has published its "Who's Who in the 1949 Legislature." The entire issue of January 1 is given over to biographical sketches for all legislators prepared by Ernest C. Potts, associate editor.

The January 3 *Legislative Letter* of the **League of Women Voters of Georgia** is devoted to a "Preview of 1949 Legislation." Among the matters which the league plans to support are an election system to include a secret ballot, protection of citizens' access to the ballot and protection of the permanent registration law; home rule extended to all cities and counties; a penal system built with emphasis on rehabilitation and including an adequate probation and juvenile court system.

The **Toledo Regional Planning As-**

sociation devoted its January 21 meeting to a discussion of proposed legislation of interest to planners.

* * *

Conference

The first of a series of regional meetings planned by the **National Council for Community Development** was held in Boston January 13 and 14. Those interested in New England and in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania were invited to participate. Discussed were street and highway safety, fire protection, relation of business and industries to their communities, the part of women in community progress, recreation and the future of youth.

The **Second Annual Westchester Conference on Community Development** met at White Plains, New York, in October. Educators and citizens discussed the educational needs of the community from pre-kindergartners to adults, reports *The Community Forum*, organ of the **New York State Citizens' Council**.

* * *

Strictly Personal

At its annual meeting in November the Massachusetts Civic League unanimously elected **Mayo A. Shattuck** as its president, to succeed **Richard S. Bowers**. **Miss Miriam Butler** will continue as the league's executive secretary by appointment of the executive committee.

The **National Civil Service League** and the **New York Civil Service Reform Association** have appointed **James R. Watson** as executive director, succeeding **H. Eliot Kaplan**, who recently resigned to become deputy comptroller of New York State. Mr. Watson, until his appointment, was professor of political science at Western Reserve University, Cleveland.

¹See the REVIEW, February, page 103.

Education Subject Of Extensive Surveys

Reports on South Carolina New Mexico, Other States

THE public schools of New Mexico and South Carolina are given a thorough going over in two surveys conducted and published in 1948 by the Division of Surveys and Field Services of the George Peabody College for Teachers at Nashville, Tennessee. John E. Brewton, director of the division, served as general director of both surveys. Associate directors, resident in each state and coordinating the work of the large staffs required, were Ira F. Simmons in New Mexico and J. B. White in South Carolina. The services of the Division of Surveys and Field Services were retained by special committees authorized by acts of the 1947 legislatures in both states to arrange surveys of public education to facilitate the framing of legislation, for improving the educational programs and equipment of both states.

Public Education in New Mexico (420 pages) and *Public Schools of South Carolina* (340 pages) are the resulting reports. The New Mexico survey is somewhat broader than the other in that it includes institutions of higher education as well as elementary and secondary schools.

In general, the two reports follow the same pattern. Both are divided into chapters discussing educational organization and administration, instructional personnel, curriculum and instruction, physical plant facilities and finance. Each chapter is followed by a list of recommendations. Cor-

rective measures advocated, therefore, are numerous and detailed.

Popular digests have been prepared to give wide circulation to some of the significant findings and recommendations and to stimulate the reading of the complete reports by the general public. The digests are attractively designed pamphlets (that of the New Mexico report is 78 pages; the South Carolina digest is 88 pages). Each contains a series of one-page summaries of significant chapters, illustrated with cartoon-type drawings, followed by a short textual digest of the recommendations of the main report.

Nevada Schools

Another recent report on educational problems comes from the Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau, J. E. Springmeyer, director, and was prepared in cooperation with the Nevada State Department of Education and the Nevada Taxpayers Association. The 128-page survey, *Financial and Administrative Problems of Nevada Schools and Suggested Solutions*, contains many tables and graphs and includes, on separate sheets, 33 detailed tables presenting expenditures of Nevada schools.

Improving Education in Minnesota by Reorganizing Local School System is illustrated with maps and graphs. The Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, Harold L. Henderson, executive director, which issued the 27-page bulletin in January, concludes that the state's local school districts should be consolidated and reorganized.

The Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research, W. Earl Weller, director, presented a critical analysis of the probable provisions of the 1949 edition

of the Young-Milmoe bill for state aid for New York State schools in its December bulletin.

"Savings in Millions Shown Through Higher Teacher-Pupil Ratios" is the title of a ten-column report, with tables and charts, in the January 1949 number of the *New York State Taxpayer*, published at Albany by the Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, Walter O. Howe, executive vice president.

Bureau Notes

The Cambridge Research Association has been organized in Cambridge, Massachusetts, with George A. McLaughlin as president.¹

The *New York State Taxpayer* for October 1948 carried a feature article, with photographs, on the organization and completion of 21 years of work by the Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau, George G. Sipprell, managing director.

Two citizens' groups have released reports on their activities. *What Is Past Is Prologue* is the title of a graphic account of its first three years of work issued by Future Springfield, Inc. (Massachusetts), Sherman P. Voorhees executive director. Achievements during 1948 are the subject of an annual report from the New York Citizens Budget Commission, Daniel L. Kurshan, secretary.

Strictly Personal

John G. Watson has been appointed executive director of the Providence Governmental Research Bureau, succeeding Robert E. Pickup.² Mr. Watson has been on the staffs of the Oklahoma Tax Commission and the Public Administration Service of Chicago.

¹See the REVIEW, February 1949, page 109, for mention of one of its reports.

²See the REVIEW, September 1948, page 446.

An officer in the Navy during the war, he was attached to the Bureau of Ordnance and then to Military Government headquarters in Germany. He served as assistant director of the Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council for two years after his release to inactive duty.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Airports

Future of the North Philadelphia Airport. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, November 30, 1948. 3 pp.

Assessment

Boroughs May Influence the Adoption of Sound Assessment Practices. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Institute of Local and State Government, *Borough Bulletin*, February 1949. 2 pp.

Reduction in Net Assessed Values; Year 1931 Compared to 1946 by Counties. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma State Tax Commission, Research Division, 1948. 34 pp. tables.

Budgets

Fifth Annual Compilation of County Budgets of Missouri's 109 Rural Counties. State Expenditures Must be Controlled! (The operation of Missouri's "executive type" budget.) Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, 1949. 31 and 6 pp. respectively.

County Government

County Administration. Schenectady, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities*, November 19, 1948. 3 pp.

County Consolidation and Reorganization in Nevada. (Proposals to reduce number and shift boundaries of counties.) Carson City, Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau, 1948. 18 pp. map.

Criminal Law

The Bouse Act. (Discussion of an act providing that in the trial of misdemeanors no evidence shall be admissible if it was procured by an illegal search or seizure, or if the effect of its admission would be to compel one to give evidence against himself in a criminal case.) By Carl N. Everstine. Baltimore, Maryland Legislative Council, Research Division, 1948. 39 pp.

Debt

City Bonded Debt Increased Last Year. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, February 1, 1949. 2 pp.

Recent Trends in State Debt, 1941-47. (Covers all the states.) New York, Tax Foundation, 1948. 9 pp. tables.

Elections and Voting

The Bloomington, Indiana, Municipal Campaign of 1947. ("This is an eye-witness account of a significant local election. . . . This study does not pretend to have the scientific validity of Dr. Harold F. Gosnell's studies of Chicago politics. But it rests on a more intimate knowledge of the local political scene and pays more heed to historical and environmental factors.") By Jack Landon New. Bloomington, Indiana University, Institute of Politics, 1948. 62 pp. 50 cents.

Indiana Local Elections, 1947. Tendencies Toward Non-Traditional Voting. By John Harvey Wheeler. Bloomington, Indiana University, Institute of Politics, 1948. 15 pp. 25 cents.

Fire Protection

Outside Fire Protection Practices in Michigan Municipalities. (Study of legal, fiscal and service problems involved in giving fire protection outside the municipality.) Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1948. 39 pp. tabulation. \$1.

Representative Ordinances: Volunteer Fire Departments in Washington

Cities. (Includes National Fire Protection Association's model ordinance.) Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, *Washington Municipal Bulletin*, August 31, 1948. 23 pp.

Forms of Government

The Units of Government in Mississippi. (Considers the state, counties, municipalities, school districts and special districts.) By Robert Baker Highsaw and Carl Denver Mullican, Jr. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 19 pp.

Home Rule

County Government in the State of Washington. Effect of Adoption of Proposed County Home Rule Constitutional Amendment. By Ernest Howard Campbell and Herbert H. Legg, Jr. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, 1948. 36 pp.

Home Rule and Home Rule Powers. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, November 9, 1948. 5 pp.

Insurance Regulation

A Survey of the Functions of the Insurance Commissioner. Carson City, Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau, 1948. 17 pp.

Judicial Councils

Check List of State Judicial Council Reports through 1947. Compiled by Harry B. Merican. Reprinted from the *Law Library Journal*, 1948. 10 pp.

Legislation

Bill Drafting Manual for the Oklahoma Legislature. By Randell S. Cobb. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Legislative Council, 1948. 41 pp.

Legislative Drafting in New Mexico. By Arie Poldervaart. Santa Fe, Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, *New Mexico Tax Bulletin*, January 1949. 9 pp.

Local Ordinances. The Drafting, Compilation, Codification and Revision of Ordinances in Third and Fourth Class Cities. By George A. Shipman. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, 1948. 47 pp.

Proposed Bills. Report to the General Assembly of 1949. Volumes I and II. Baltimore, Maryland Legislative Council, 1948. 258 and 149 pp. respectively.

Record Land Titles. A Review of Laws Designed to Simplify Land Title Transactions by Eliminating Claims within Specified Period. Topeka, Kansas Legislative Council, Research Department, 1948. 76 pp.

Strengthening the Legislative Process in Oklahoma. Report and Recommendations of the Committee on Legislative Methods and Procedures. (Fourteen possible changes listed and explained.) Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Legislative Council, 1948. 27 and 7 pp. respectively.

Legislative Councils

First Biennial Report and Recommendations to the 22nd Legislature. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Legislative Council, 1948. 108 pp.

Progress Reports. Topeka, Kansas Legislative Council, September and November 1948. 9 and 12 pp. respectively.

Report of the Legislative Counsel, 1947-48. Carson City, Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau, 1948. 39 pp.

Third Biennial Report, 1947-48. Jefferson City, Missouri Committee on Legislative Research, 1948. 29 pp.

Licenses

Municipal Business and Occupational Taxes and/or License Fees on Public Utilities. Ordinances Licensing Juke Boxes in Washington Cities. Ordinances Licensing Punch Boards in Washington Cities. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Washington Municipal Bulletin*,

July 26, 23 and 19, 1948. 5, 10 and 9 pp. respectively.

Municipal Government

California City Government. (Considers city growth, problems and trends; governmental forms; also unincorporated urban areas and methods of acquiring public services; includes a comprehensive bibliography.) By John C. Bollens and John R. McKinley. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1948. 69 pp. tables, maps. \$1.25.

Planning

Anne Arundel County, Maryland: Its Economic Development and Potentials. College Park, University of Maryland, Bureau of Business and Economic Research, 1948. 81 pp. tables, maps, charts, photographs.

An Inventory of Vacant Residential Land. ("A report on the progress already made in surveying the vacant residential land in the Cleveland region, and a guide to local officials for conducting such an inventory.") Cleveland, Regional Association, 1948. 29 pp. charts, maps.

Urban Redevelopment Program Proposed. Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, September 1948. 2 pp.

Police

Police Department Continues Improvements. St. Louis, Governmental Research Institute, *Dollars and Sense in Government*, January 26, 1949. 4 pp.

Public Welfare

Local Effects of Proposition No. 4. County Surpluses Estimated. (A discussion of fiscal effects of shifting of administrative and financial responsibility for aid to the needy aged and blind from California's counties to its state government. More than \$9,000,000 is available for county tax reduction in 1949-50; that much in surplus county funds budgeted for aid to the

ged and blind for 1948-49 is now not required because of the passage of the proposition.) By Charles W. Flanagan. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest*, January 1949. pp.

Utah Public Welfare and the Lien Provision. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, 1948. 4 pp.

Recording

Better Recording at Less Cost Through Photography. Reading, Pennsylvania Economy League, Berks County Branch, 1948. 38 pp. 50 cents.

Religious Societies

Report on Religious Societies. Lincoln, Nebraska Legislative Council, September 1948. 29 pp.

Research

The Tax Rate Isn't Everything. "Here are five basic things that should be investigated by state taxpayer associations when they are judging public administration in municipalities, school districts and counties.") By Leslie J. Reese. New York, Tax Foundation, *Tax Outlook*, November 1948. 4 pp.

Retirement Systems

Policemen's and Firemen's Retirement Funds. (Called actuarially unbound and excessively liberal.) New Haven, Taxpayers Research Council, *Council Comment*, January 5, 1949. 2 pp.

Police Pension Funds of New York City. An Analysis with a Program for Revision. New York, Pension Forum, 1948. 46 pp. tables.

Smoke Control

Smoke Control Looms as New Municipal Function. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Institute of Local and State Government, *Borough Bulletin*, October 1948. 2 pp.

Snow Removal

Snow and Ice Removal Practices in Michigan Municipalities. By Eugene G.

Moody. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1948. 42 pp. tables. \$1.50.

Taxation and Finance

Exploring the Michigan Tax Situation. Selected References on State and Local Tax Sources and Tax Policy. (References not confined to Michigan studies.) Compiled by Ione E. Dority. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Bureau of Government, 1949. 13 pp.

Financial Review. A Guidebook to Newark Municipal Finance. Newark, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1949. 64 pp. tables, graphs.

Inheritance and Estate Taxes in Kentucky. By Edgar Z. Palmer, Rodman Sullivan and Ellis Sutton. Frankfort, Kentucky Department of Revenue, 1947. 104 pp. tables.

Latest Financial Statistics of New Jersey Municipalities. A Compilation of Figures Relating to Budgets and Expenditures of 566 Local Government Units Arranged by Counties. Trenton, New Jersey Taxpayers' Association, 1948. 40 pp. \$1.

Let's Look at the Machinery! Change in Tax Accounting Suggested. By D. M. Teeter. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest*, January 1949. 3 pp.

The Minnesota Tax System. Saint Paul, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, 1948. 140 pp. tables, charts. \$1.

Pennsylvania's Legislature Can Erase This Tax Question. A comparative Study of Business Taxes and Industrial Trends in Pennsylvania and Other States. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, Research Bureau, 1948. 28 pp.

Recent Trends in State Expenditures, 1942-47. (Covers all the states.) New York, Tax Foundation, 1948. 76 pp. tables.

Review of the 1948 Wisconsin Tax Year. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers

Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer*, December 1948. 4 pp.

A Summary of the Financial Operations of the Nevada State Government. Reno, Nevada Taxpayers Association, *Nevada Tax Review*, January 1949. 7 pp.

Survey of Sales Taxes Applicable to Nevada. (Detailed discussion of the structure of sales taxes and the types used in other states, Canada, Australia and Great Britain.) Carson City, Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau, 1948. 174 pp. tables.

Taxation of Manufacturing in the South. By James W. Martin and Glenn D. Morrow. University, University of Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration, 1948. 110 pp. tables.

Taxation of Regulated Enterprises. Selections from *Utility Reference*. Ridgewood, New Jersey, Economic Reference, Inc., 1948. 154 pp. graphs, tables.

Taxes. Questions and Answers on State and Federal Taxes Levied in Wisconsin. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, 1949. 64 pp. 25 cents.

Tax Rates of All Missouri Counties and Municipalities, 1947 and 1948. Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, 1949. 6 pp.

Tax Rates of California Cities, 1947-48 and 1948-49. (Actual and adjusted rates.) Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest*, December 1948. 4 pp.

Tax Survey Committee Finds State's Tax System Basically Sound. (Summary of report of the Governor's Tax Survey Committee.) Hartford, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, *Connecticut Taxpayers News*, January 1949. 2 pp.

The Tax System of Hawaii. By Robert M. Kamins. Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1948. 40 pp.

A Ten Year Analysis of Minnesota's

State Fiscal Operations, 1939-48. Saint Paul, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, 1948. 21 pp.

Utilities

Financing Sewage Disposal by Sewer Rentals in Michigan. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1948. 32 pp. tables. \$1.50.

Municipally Owned Waterworks in Pennsylvania. ("The most comprehensive description and analysis of the operation of the more than 300 municipally owned waterworks within the state that has ever been made.") By John H. Ferguson and Charles F. LeeDecker. State College, Pennsylvania State College, Institute of Local Government, 1948. 150 pp. tables, charts.

Sewage Collection and Treatment Works in the State of Washington. (Includes photographs, diagrams, tables, illustrative ordinances.) Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services. 132 pp. \$2.

Taxpayers' Prospects of Relief from Railway Subsidies Improve. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, September 23, 1948. 2 pp.

Veterans

The Veterans' Bonus Question in New Jersey. By Joseph E. McLean. New York, Governmental Research Association, *Notes and References*, November 1948. 3 pp.

Water Rates

Water Rent Increases. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, October 19, 1948. 2 pp.

Youth

Youth Problems: Child Labor and Institutional Services. Proceedings of the Local Action in Democracy Section, Thirteenth Annual Institute of Government, 1948. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, 1948. 29 pp.

Books in Review

Local Self-Government in New Jersey: A Proposed Optional Charter Plan. Report of the New Jersey Commission on Municipal Government. Trenton, New Jersey, the Commission, 1949, xii, 120 pp.

Here it is: a real model optional local government law offering every locality in a state substantial home rule. The report, known as the Faulkner report after the chairman of the commission which produced it, consists of legislative bills embodying five optional charters and a supplement to the present commission government law, together with a letter of transmittal, a 26-page introductory statement and factual comments on specific sections of the bills.

Although the report is designed to meet legal and other requirements in New Jersey, it furnishes an excellent guide for similar efforts in other states. This is because the commission, with the staff assistance of the Princeton Government Surveys and the advice of a number of other experts, cut through the existing jungle of New Jersey municipal law to fundamental principles. The introductory statement is an unusually clear and eloquent discussion of the importance to effective local democracy of sound form and participating citizens.

After examining the forms of local government now prevalent in New Jersey and other states, the commission concluded that it could conscientiously recommend for future adoption only two basic forms, the council-manager plan and the strong mayor plan, plus a modified mayor-council plan for small municipalities. No impartial student of municipal affairs will quarrel with the commission's adverse conclusion on the commission form.

The commission, somewhat apologetically, provides for council confirmation of major appointments by the mayor in the mayor-council plans. This aberration from standard practice should not be copied; but some amendments are made by a strong veto power and provision for a department of administration headed by a qualified business administrator responsible to the mayor.

Any municipality adopting one of the new forms would have greatly increased power to organize its own departments, set the number and compensation of its officers and employees, and determine the range and character of its services. A New Jersey municipality which chose to adopt one of the new options should have about as much power to make its own decisions, except to levy new taxes, as any municipality in the most favored constitutional home rule states. Any of the new options would be adopted either by petition and referendum or upon recommendation of a specially elected charter commission.

The Faulkner commission and its staff have put the whole country in their debt for this report. Their work is a fine example of the kind of municipal statesmanship required to preserve and strengthen local government as the basis of our American system. The Faulkner report may come to be widely recognized as one of New Jersey's most "useful manufactures."

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Annexation and Consolidation
Annexation Key to Prosperous Community. Annexation Benefits Pre-

sented. Milwaukee, Department of Annexation, 1948. 8 pages each.

A Manual of Procedures for Merging Local Governmental Units. Harrisburg, Local Government Commission, 1948. 15 pp.

Conferences

Conference Leader's Guide. By Waldo E. Fisher. Pasadena 4, California Institute of Technology, Industrial Relations Section, 1948. 28 pp. \$1.

Directories

County Directory 1949-50. Listing County Judges, Commissioners, County Clerks, Engineers, Auditors of Texas. Brownwood, County Judges and Commissioners Association of Texas, *County Progress*, January 1949. 42 pp.

Disaster Plans

A Disaster Plan for Local Government. Austin, Texas Department of Public Safety, 1948. 32 pp.

Government Textbooks

American Government. (Revised.) A Textbook on the Problems of Democracy. By Frank Abbott MaGruder. Boston, Allyn and Bacon, 1949. 786 pp. \$2.40.

Hospitals

The Hospital in Contemporary Life. Edited by Nathaniel W. Faxon. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1949. 288 pp. \$5.

Housing

Housing Subsidies and Rents. A Study of Local Authorities' Problems. By J. R. Jarman. London, Stevens & Sons Limited, 1948. 294 pp. 25s.

Libraries

The Public Library Plans for the Teen Age. By Committee on Postwar Planning of the American Library Association, Division of Libraries for Children and Young People. Chicago, the Association, 1948. 86 pp. \$1.75.

Public Administration Libraries: A Manual of Practice. By a committee

of the Social Science Group of the Special Libraries Association. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1948. 91 pp. \$2.50.

Municipalities

Better Cities Better Business. Report on the Businessmen's Conference on Urban Problems, Detroit, Michigan, September 13 and 14, 1948. Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1948. 180 pp. \$1.

Information from Forty Cities on Garbage and Trash Collection and Disposal, Parking Meters, Extending Utilities, Two-Way Radio, Summer Water Rates, etc. Information Gathered at 1948 Spring Meeting of Texas City Managers' Association. Austin, Texas, the League of Texas Municipalities, 1948. 18 pp.

Report of the Commission on the Economic Study of Milwaukee. By Harold M. Groves et al. Milwaukee the Commission, 1948. 237 pp. \$2.50.

Planning

Face-Lifting the Philadelphia Area. A Report of Progress. By Civic Development Bureau. Philadelphia, Chamber of Commerce, 1948. 29 pp. maps, illus.

Major Street Plan. St. Louis, Missouri, City Plan Commission, 1948. 62 pp. maps.

Suggested Studies for Local Planning Boards. Ways and Means of Being of Service to the Community Boston, Massachusetts State Planning Board, 1948. 16 pp.

Population Reports

Internal Migration in the United States: April 1947 to April 1948. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1949. 8 pp.

Public Works

State Public Works in Tennessee. By Division of State Planning. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1949. 34 pp.